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A Study of Penguin's Russian Classics (1950-1964) with Special Reference to David
Magarshack

Catherine Louise McAteer

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the
requirements for award of the degree of PhD in the Faculty of Arts, School of Modern
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Abstract

This thesis analyses the figures and events behind Penguin's twentieth-century re-launch of the nineteenth-century Russian literary canon. It explores the combination of factors behind Penguin's makeover of Russian literature, arriving fifty years after the first translations that can be considered 'commercial' by Constance Garnett. In this project, primary research is viewed through the lens of sociological concepts as a means of interrogating the dynamics and relations behind the Penguin Russian Classic titles. My analysis of Penguin's agents – the founder Allen Lane, the Penguin Classics editorial team, and the earliest Russian-English literary translators – and their agency relies on archive-based research, which has enabled me to construct evidence-based case studies of the key figures and their practice. I have made a particular case study of the prominent Penguin translator David Magarshack, one of the longest serving translators of the early corps, analysing his notes on the literary translation process and the correspondence he exchanged with Penguin. In a departure from traditional sociological approaches, I have juxtaposed the study of Magarshack's personal background, career and Penguin relations with a text-based study of his translation work, with comparisons to other translators as appropriate, as a way of identifying and understanding the finer details of his practice which, otherwise, would not be revealed.

I argue that it is thanks to the collaboration of Penguin's agents that Penguin's Russian Classics represent a significant stage in Russian literature in modern Anglophone translation. By combining publishing innovation with translations written in good, modern English and aspiring to Rieu's 'principle of equivalent effect', Penguin brought classic Russian literature into the twentieth-century to suit a self-improving, inquisitive, post-war British reader. This thesis examines for the first time how Penguin and its publishing and translation practices catered to this target readership and thereby generated a new appreciation for classic Russian literature.

Dedication and Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Offord Scholarship for funding my research project. Without the generosity of my benefactor, I would not have been able to contemplate dedicating four years of full-time study to this research. I would also like to thank my supervisors for their guidance and encouragement, and my husband, sons, and my parents for their unstinting support.

During the course of my research, I have received particular assistance from the following people, whom I would like specially to acknowledge: Penguin Books for their permission to use the Penguin archive; the Magarshack family, for their interest and memories, as well as their permission to reproduce family photos and extracts from archived papers; Richard Davies at the Leeds Russian Archive, for his help with navigating my way through the Magarshack collection; Hannah Lowery and Michael Richardson at the Penguin Archive at the University of Bristol, for their patience and expertise in how best to negotiate the vastness of the archive.

Author's declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

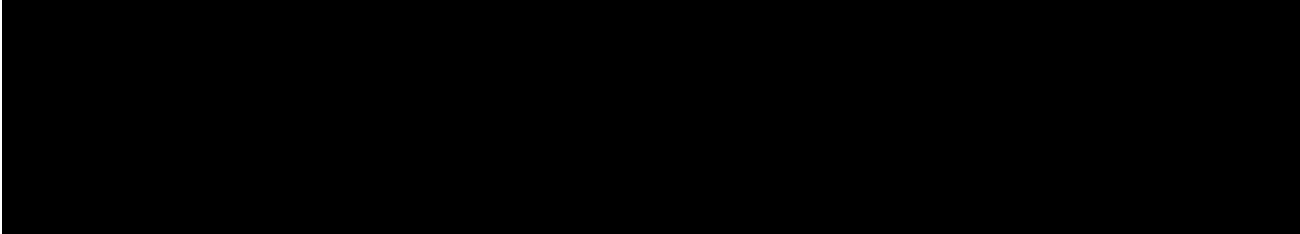


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A Study of Penguin's Russian Classics (1950-1964) with Special Reference to David Magarshack

Introduction

This thesis offers the first analysis of Penguin's Russian Classics, from 1950, when the first volume in the series was published, to 1964 when David Magarshack's last Penguin translation appeared. As this thesis will show, the Penguin Classics collaboration represents an important moment in modern Russian literary translation, but the absence of any analysis to date of Penguin's contribution is a gap in our knowledge of Russian literature in English translation (Beasley and Bullock, 2011, p. 285). The cultural and intellectual achievements generally associated with Penguin, an 'emblem of cultural change' (Joicey, 1993, p. 26), apply to the microcosm of Penguin's Russian Classics in translation too. Through an analysis of the people, the processes, and the socio-cultural climate, this thesis shows how Penguin's decisions and practices when translating and publishing the Penguin Classics series – quality, recognisably branded world literature printed in high volumes, and sold at low prices in accessible, everyday retail outlets – played a significant role in the way in which Russian literature was produced and marketed in English translation. On this basis, I argue that Penguin and its agents deserve new recognition in the Russo-British literary landscape.

Through my analysis of the socio-political climate for translation from Russian in the UK before Penguin, I demonstrate how Russian literature in translation was initially produced and received by an elite circle of interested parties. I examine the socio-cultural and publishing developments in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which paved the way for Penguin to achieve success. Success is an abstract entity to quantify, especially given the absence of consistent sales data both before and during Penguin's period of production. However, my thesis uses reviews, letters, articles and interviews in an attempt to gauge the different outcomes for the publisher, editor, and translator, as individuals and in collaboration. My research will show how corporate success provides conditions for individual development and achievement, as demonstrated through a case study of the prominent Russian literary translator David Magarshack. With Rosemary Edmonds, Magarshack was one of the two longest-serving Penguin Russian translators. He was commissioned to translate seven volumes in the early Penguin Classics series between 1951 and 1964. Magarshack's case study spans

Chapter Four and Chapter Five and shows how, though some of his Penguin translations are now regarded as over-domesticated, in their day they fulfilled the Penguin Classics mission – as well as his own mission of making a name and a living for himself – of serving the contemporary interests and abilities of a broad, lay target audience. The accumulation of Magarshack's detailed archival material both in the Penguin archive and the Leeds Russian archive reflects his character, his engagement with the literary field (both in the UK and the USSR), his development from translator to translation theorist, and his desire to accrue status. Whilst Chekhov translator Elisaveta Fen's private archive in Leeds is also sizeable – 426 letters in eight folders of Penguin correspondence (compared to three folders for her work in the Penguin archive) – just three of the eight folders relate to the early years of Penguin Classics when she was most actively involved; the remaining five consist largely of royalty and re-print updates. With only a small number of letters specifically concerning her Chekhov translation *Three Plays* in the early Penguin years, Fen's personal archive reflects her role as an advisor to Rieu more than her role as a translator. Her archive is valuable for the information it reveals about Rieu's early reliance on her knowledge of Russian literature and language, but it does not provide detailed insight into her translation practice, theory, and career progression in the way that Magarshack's does.

Magarshack's case study – with his notes on translation and extensive correspondence for seven large-scale Penguin publications – therefore, assumes particular importance for the insight it gives into literary translation and publishing practices (and theories) in the mid-twentieth century. It has also been possible to gain more detailed insight into the finer practicalities of working for a collaboration like Penguin's Russian Classics, specifically by drawing comparisons between Magarshack's and Rosemary Edmonds's tenures and practice. Whilst there is a relative paucity of archival material relating to Edmonds (only the correspondence stored in the Penguin archive is available), she was also long serving (her first contract agreement is dated 24 July 1950 (DM1107/L41)) and was an equally productive Russian translator in the early corps with seven publications between 1954 and 1966. Her commissions generated detailed exchanges with the Penguin editorial team and have provided some useful comparisons with Magarshack's Penguin career.

Methodology

In this thesis, I have adopted a combined methodology that draws on sociological, historical and textual approaches to Translation Studies. I have aligned myself with work by the book historian Alistair McCleery, 'The Return of the Publisher to Book History: The Case of Allen Lane' (2002), and the translation scholar Daniel Simeoni, 'The Pivotal Status of the Translators' Habitus' (1998). Each has identified the need for more detailed studies into the publisher and the translator as autonomous, visible individuals, and into the strategies and influences driving their agency. Whilst numerous biographies have been written about Allen Lane and his Penguin enterprise,¹ McCleery called, fifteen years ago, for the need to restore the publisher to a critical, historical discussion about agency and to broaden the sociological exploration to include publishers and editors. He maintained that the publisher-agent, grappling with 'impersonal forces emerging from the nexus of cultural change, the marketplace, and legal liabilities,' (McCleery, 2002, p.161) had fallen out of book history. He credited this omission to two factors: a trend in book history to erase the human and to focus instead on book titles and on the publishing-house mechanism, and an 'authorial view of the publisher as enemy rather than as facilitator or collaborator' (ibid., pp. 161-162). For McCleery, a publisher is an agent 'whose individual decisions made a difference' (ibid., p. 163), but whose achievements have only really been appraised by (often hyperbolic) close acquaintances. He argues that Lane's 'career merits rigorous and dispassionate scrutiny' (ibid.), which this thesis intends to contribute to.

Since McCleery wrote his essay, some Translation Studies scholars have made the publisher-agent a focus of their work. Gisèle Sapiro's (2008, pp. 154-166) commentary on the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's research into the field of publishing argues that the publisher, responsible for the global circulation of literature, must be recognised as an essential agent for legitimating literature in the field of cultural production (ibid., p. 155). Hélène Buzelin's article 'Independent Publisher in the Networks of Translation' (2006) analyses the roles played by different 'actors' in producing literary translation projects for Canadian publishing houses. This thesis reflects her assertion that 'editorial, publishing and textual (stylistic) decisions intertwine in a complex, yet concrete, and sometimes unpredictable way' (ibid., p. 138).

¹ See works by Lane's former colleagues J.E. Morpurgo (1979) and W.E. Williams (1973), and more recently by Stuart Kells (2015).

Denise Merkle and Carol O'Sullivan offer historical discussions about the nineteenth-century publishers Henry Vizetelly and Henry Bohn respectively in Milton's and Bandia's collection *Agents of Translation* (2009). Merkle's and O'Sullivan's (and others') contributions to the same volume provide an analysis of pre-Penguin publishing models for foreign literature in translation, historical benchmarks against which Penguin Classics and Lane's publishing strategy and achievements can be evaluated.

Just as McCleery has concerns about the under-represented publisher, Simeoni raised the question of the translator's status in his article 'The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus' (1998). Simeoni asks 'what drives the translator's decisions in practice' (ibid., p. 2) and argues, drawing on the work of Bourdieu, that a 'habitus-led reorganization of the facts of translation will force finer-grain analyses of the socio-cognitive emergence of translating skills and their outcome' (ibid., p. 33). Since Simeoni, the question of the translator's agency has continued to occupy scholars. Buzelin's paper 'Unexpected Allies' (2005) argues in favour of more detailed research into translation agency and appeals for research into 'who participates in the translation process, how they negotiate their position, and how much and where translators, in practice, comply with or contest norms' (ibid., p. 205). She concludes with the statement that, up to now, this aspect of translator research is 'so far supported by very little empirical evidence' (ibid.). By way of response, Rakefet Sela-Sheffy argues in 'The Translators' Personae: Marketing Translatorial Images as Pursuit of Capital' (2008) that the literary translator does not personify submissiveness but, instead, hones individualistic strategies to ensure a status of prestige (ibid., p. 610) and even equality with the original author (ibid., p. 617). Sela-Sheffy's research into the habits and dispositions of between twenty to twenty-five Hebrew translators leads her to replace Simeoni's narrative of translator submissiveness with one of translator's pride in their work and status. Her view of the translator as an ego-oriented individual – who can be 'rather ambitious regarding their social status, and invest considerable efforts in establishing a distinctive professional prestige for themselves' (ibid., p. 610) – provides an opportunity in this thesis to explore David Charlston's adaptation of Bourdieu's concept of *hexis* (in 'Textual Embodiments of Bourdieusian Hexis' (2013)). Charlston uses *hexis* as a way of explaining the complexities of translators' activities and approaches to their work. This analysis is supported by my own findings later in this thesis regarding Magarshack's complicated self-perception – one of self-confidence and

a developed sense of self-worth, yet eager for recognition and acceptance in his host nation, the UK – and his career as a translator.

The practical evidence supporting this enquiry relies on a methodology which has emerged from the sociological turn and has recently been advocated by Jeremy Munday, namely, the deployment of archival sources as a way of understanding translators and their translation decisions. Careful and judicious scrutiny of archival material may be used to build a picture, a microhistory (Munday, 2014, p. 65), of the way in which agents interact and produce texts, which cannot be deduced from study of the primary text alone. In this project, I have used Munday's framework to interrogate the different motivations behind a commission (*ibid.*, p. 72), for example: the translator's eligibility for a commission; the publisher's/editor's perception of a translator's monetary worth; the translation strategy itself; the way in which a translation is presented and marketed for maximum sales and audience appeal. I have used an historical/archival approach, therefore, in order to explain the rise of Penguin, its Russian classics, and individual agents (most notably Lane, Rieu, and Magarshack) whose collaboration determined success.

This thesis also seeks to take forward McCleery's, Simeoni's and Munday's investigations into agency and, therefore, to advance the sociological turn (Wolf, 2007, p. 6). First, this thesis does not privilege either the publisher (McCleery (2002), Sapiro (2008)) or the translator (Simeoni (1998), Munday (2013, 2014), Buzelin (2005), Sela-Sheffy (2008)) as independent agents; it forces a finer-grain analysis on each of them but, crucially, as part of a diverse network of collaboration, from those directly involved in the project (the publisher, editors and translators), to those who are indirectly involved (lay readers, reviewers and academics). Through a combination of sociological and historical/archival approaches, this thesis evaluates the combined efforts, backgrounds, capital and (self-) interests of literary agents against the external forces of politics, society, the market, and readership expectation. In Penguin terms, my analysis starts with the founder of Penguin Books, Allen Lane, the series and copy editors Emile Victor Rieu and A.S.B. Glover, and then the first Russian translators Gilbert Gardiner, Fen, Edmonds and Magarshack. Reference is also made to target readers (lay and academic) and their correspondence with Penguin, as well as reviewers who influenced public opinion paratextually in the national press. Through my archival analysis of Penguin's Russian translation commissions – the commissioners, the commissioned,

and their accompanying interactions and commercial decisions; translation style and (where known) translators' thoughts on translation; the reception of these translations by readers – this thesis provides new insight into that era of translation practice and into the modern revival of the Russian literary canon. The Penguin Russian commissions may be indicative of the practices employed throughout the early Penguin Classics series and will become all the more interpretable 'in the context of other similar studies which will enable comparisons to be made across translators and projects' (Munday, 2013, p. 137).

Second, in a departure from the agency-focused sociological turn, I have reintroduced textual analysis, regarding it as an essential component of this study. Simeoni places methodological emphasis on 'the practices of translating and authoring rather than on texts' (1998, p. 33), which has been interpreted as privileging agent/agency analysis over text-based analysis (Meylaerts, 2006, p. 60). There are benefits, though, from an analysis which reunites the agent(s) with their work. An archive-informed analysis of the translated text explains, for example, 'surface manifestations' (ibid., p. 5) of the personal and commercial dynamics behind literary collaboration, in the translator's chosen strategy, and publisher, editor or translator bias. This combined approach is only possible where archives yield sufficient material; the text-oriented study which features in Chapter Five – specifically of Magarshack's work but with occasional reference to Edmonds too – capitalises on such archival insight as a final way of exploring whether Penguin's aims influenced translation practice and to what extent we can perceive a translator's personal and professional background manifesting itself in the finished text.

In this thesis, therefore, I have adopted a modified methodological framework that synthesises three strands of Translation Studies: sociological, historical/archival and textual analysis. A combined approach of this nature facilitates a more holistic investigation into agents and their agency, ultimately revealing: dynamics of commercial, literary collaboration; the place of each agent within the collaborative network and, where applicable, in a bigger socio-historical context; how agents' varying cultural influences and aspirations have a noticeable impact on the finished text and, more broadly, on the representation of another nation's literature in English translation.

Penguin Archive

My research has centred on the Penguin archive, housed at the University of Bristol. Among the 2,300 boxes which constitute the Penguin archive (Clements, 2009), there are twenty-three Russian classics folders for the period from 1950-1970. The rich, albeit fragmentary, mass of material has never been used to analyse the dynamics behind Penguin's relaunch of nineteenth-century Russian literature. I have mainly utilised the first sixteen of these folders, fourteen of which specifically concern the Russian titles published during the Medallion Titles phase.² The Medallion Titles were the earliest incarnation of the Penguin Classics series, which began in 1946 with Rieu's translation *The Odyssey*, and lasted until its transition in 1962 to Black Cover Titles (Edwards, Hare and Robinson, 2008, p. 127). I have also examined correspondence for Edmonds's translations of Tolstoi's *The Cossacks* (1960), *Childhood, Boyhood, Youth* (1964) and Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* (1965) and for Magarshack's last Penguin publication in 1964 of Chekhov's *Lady with Lapdog and Other Stories*. Where appropriate, I have referred to later translations, for example, by Paul Foote, Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time* (1966) and Richard Freeborn, Turgenev's *Sketches from a Hunter's Album* (1967). (See Appendix 1 for a full list of Russian titles.)

There are a number of reasons behind my decision to focus attention on the earliest phase of the Penguin Classics series. The Medallion Titles, so called because of the roundels on their front covers (Edwards, Hare and Robinson, 2008, pp. 58-9), mark a period of intense activity when ideas and translation commissions flourished. There is substantial correspondence in the archive, perhaps reflecting the fact that questions are being raised for the first time. These enquiries prove most informative about early initiatives. There is valuable consistency to the themes which are discussed, including the selection of titles, the search for eligible translators, translation strategy, terms of employment and pay, the logistics of obtaining source texts, managing deadlines and publishing dates, and negotiating corrections. Correspondence for the early Penguin Russian titles contains most, sometimes all, of these editorial concerns at various times and to varying degrees. The fact that there is thematic consistency in the questions which arise provides a valuable point of comparison from one commission and translator to another. With translators working to the same corporate terms and

² Correspondence is filed under the book title and an accompanying Penguin reference, DM1107 (the code for Penguin Classics) and a specific title reference <L+ the publication's numerical position in the series>.

conditions (but not necessarily always the same pay) and all handling classic Russian literature to fulfil the same corporate mission, the variables in my archival analysis have centred on the nature of the interactions between agents. Analysis of correspondence and memos exchanged between Penguin editors and translators has allowed me to engage with the personalities and the processes behind commissioning, translating and publishing a text. In this respect, my task became more manageable once I restricted my evaluation to the first sixteen Russian classic texts. Out of a total of 122 Classic titles produced during the first phase of Penguin Classics, these sixteen Russian works represent the most active and productive phase in Penguin's Russian translations. By comparison, the next phase of Penguin Classics, the Black Cover titles, includes only ten Russian titles out of a total of 128 Classics (ibid., pp. 131-140).

I encountered pitfalls commonly associated with archive usage, as identified in Munday's methodology (2014, p. 69), but also a number of problems which relate specifically to the Penguin archive. Whilst much of the correspondence comes from outside the company, much of the material on the company is corporate in nature and needed to be used with caution, for example, the in-house publicity booklet *Penguins Progress*, sent free-of-charge to 50,000 readers on request (Yates, 2006, p. 114), advertisements, interviews, memos, readers' reports, etc. In addition, the scale and complexity of the archive, with its multiple classifications by subject, series, date and name, pose difficulties for the researcher. In 'Penguin Books and the Translation of Spanish and Latin American Poetry' (2016), Tom Boll alludes to complex layers of Penguin history which cloud research. He writes that 'Any attempt to establish a coherent narrative trajectory is complicated [...] by the diversity of the cast and the variety of their roles' (p. 29). The archive consists of 500 metres of Penguin titles; it grows by one metre of shelf space every month (Clements, 2009) and has yet to be fully catalogued online. It would be impossible, therefore, within the timescale of a PhD to scour all of its contents and piece together a detailed overview of sales trends, contracts, terms and conditions.

Gaps in evidence – which cannot be attributed to Penguin withholding commercially sensitive information but reflect more a general lack of consistent record-keeping in the early years – lead ultimately to unanswered questions. It proved impossible, for example, to find exact details regarding recruitment, since it is generally acknowledged that many of the early decisions at Penguin were brokered over business

lunches and details were either only sketchily or, more often, never documented.³ Similarly, the recording of sales figures is patchy and inconsistent, or otherwise unsystematically filed, making it more difficult to measure Penguin's success in quantitative terms. The archive did not yield sufficient material – copies of sample translations, readers' reports, and copies of proofs with corrections – on which to build in-depth case studies for all the translators in the cohort. In the case of Magarshack and Fen, however, I was able to consult their archives at the Leeds Russian archive. Magarshack's archive relates specifically to his career (see Chapters Three-Five), while Fen's archive documents all aspects of her life, including: official and personal correspondence from Russia; letters regarding UK domestic life for example, to her hairdresser, Bristol Eye Hospital, libraries, tv licence and tax offices; letters and postcards from friends; travel diaries and holiday bookings; personal diaries and notebooks; and letters to publishers (often requesting that they publish her autobiographies). One box of letters (eight folders) concerns her relationship with Penguin – mainly as an occasional (but paid) advisor to Rieu from 1945 until 1951, but also as a translator of Chekhov plays (1951/1954/1959) (see Chapter Three) – and proved useful in corroborating correspondence in the Penguin archive. For the other early Penguin translators who do not have private archives, I analysed archive-based correspondence about their contributions to Penguin's Russian Classics alongside press reviews from journals at that time and digital archives for *The Times* and *The Times Literary Supplement* in order to consolidate and augment biographical detail.

Pierre Bourdieu's research into the literary field and, in particular, into French publishing practices provided an essential reference point for this thesis, offering insight into publishing structures and operational priorities. While researching 'A Conservative Revolution in Publishing', Bourdieu encountered the 'extremely secretive attitude of a professional milieu that is ill disposed to the prying questions of outsiders and therefore disinclined to disclose either tactical information regarding sales or descriptive information regarding the social characteristics of their executives' (2008, p. 127). Adrienne Mason observes in 'Molière Among the Penguins' (2014) that 'It is often

³ '[...] as with many others there was no such thing as a hard and fast job-title or clear definition of duties' (Hare, 1995, p. 124) and, from Rieu's letter to Lane on newly approaching the Penguin Classics series, 'Perhaps you could kindly ring me up just to confirm the main arrangements, and to make a date (preferably for lunch with me at the Athenaeum) when we could get ahead with the scheme' (ibid., p. 186). See also Rieu's letter to Kitto (4 Nov 1944, Penguin Archive).

difficult to assess the impact of factors such as the publishing house, editorial policy, marketing strategy or commercial viability on the nature and diffusion of a translation because publishers' records are seldom available' (p. 123). As Mason and I have both found to our advantage, though, the existence of such data in the Penguin archive, and the Leeds Russian archive too, no matter how dispersed, is transformative for researchers. The contents of both archives can be utilised effectively to demonstrate how 'interactions govern not only the choice of translator and titles for translation but the way the text is translated' (ibid.).

Useful insights have been gained from the findings of other researchers who have already consulted the Penguin Archive. For example, Wootten's and Donaldson's *Reading Penguin: A Critical Anthology* (2013) consists of twelve essays resulting from the AHRC-funded Penguin Archive Project which was based at the University of Bristol between May 2008 and April 2012 (ibid., pp. xiv-xv).⁴ Collectively, these essays have provided a signposting service for the interdisciplinary scope and exact location of material stored in the archive. I have used books by Jeremy Lewis (*Penguin Special, The Life and Times of Allen Lane* (2006)) and Steve Hare (*Penguin Portrait, Allen Lane and the Penguin Editors 1935-1970* (1995)), compiled through their own archive-based research, for quick and reliable checking of names, dates and event chronology. Over two hundred Penguin Collectors Society (PCS) contributors (Yates, 2006, p. 7) conduct ongoing research into Penguin and their findings have assisted in this thesis too.⁵ Of particular relevance is their publication *Penguin Classics* (Edwards, Hare and Robinson, 2008). It includes an essay by Bryan Platt on Rieu and his founding of the series (ibid., pp. 8-15); Hare's essay 'A History of Penguin Classics' (ibid., pp. 24-33), which juxtaposes the characteristics of Rieu's editorship with Betty Radice's; Rieu's own essay on his translation strategy entitled 'The Faith of a Translator' (ibid., pp. 118-119); Tanya Schmoller's essay 'Roundel Trouble' (ibid., pp. 58-93), which explains how Penguin

⁴ The book consists of papers presented at the University of Bristol's celebratory conference '75 Years of Penguin Books: An International Multidisciplinary Conference' from 29 June-1 July 2010. Papers reflect the multidisciplinary nature of the archive and cover, amongst other topics, the *Lady Chatterley's Lover* trial (McCleery), reminiscences of Penguin Books (Cannadine), a broad overview of Penguin Classics (Sanders) and the Penguin English Library (Donaldson), poetry (Wootten), and Puffin Books (Reynolds).

⁵ The PCS, 'founded in 1974 by a small group of enthusiasts' (Yates, 2006, p. 8), defines itself as an organisation which aims 'to encourage and promote the study, collection and preservation of the works of Allen Lane and Penguin Books, their contributors and contemporaries' (ibid.). In practice, this means that it makes historical material (relating to Penguin staff, procedures, product lines, and significant events) available 'for educational and research purposes' (ibid.). Their works include a biannual members' journal *The Penguin Collector* and *The Penguin Companion* (2006) performs the role of a Penguin encyclopaedia (currently in its third edition).

matched the translated text with a front-cover roundel; and a comprehensive list of the first 250 titles included in the series, with names of translators, dates of publication and issue reference numbers. The information collated in this and the PCS's other reference book, Yates's *The Penguin Companion* (2006), has provided this thesis with detailed material specific to the early Classics series and sourced directly from the archive, for which I would otherwise have had to spend considerable time hunting in dispersed locations within the archive.

The opportunities are still considerable for researching and interpreting the translation practices and editorial processes applied to other national literatures represented in the Penguin Classics series. Some research, from a translation perspective, has already been conducted in the French series by Mason, who laments, as I do, that 'the creative and interpretative status of those responsible for a translation is still not universally acknowledged or thought worthy of much critical attention' (2014, p. 123). Sun Kyoung Yoon has conducted research into Rieu's translations of Homer, arguing that his translation practice and ethos can be appreciated as 'egalitarian' (2014, pp. 179-184). For his chapter 'How to Fillet a Penguin' (2012), Rob Crowe researched Penguin's handling of Latin and Greek texts requiring expurgation and I echo his observation that 'A full(er) understanding of what is going on in books, and more precisely why, cannot be achieved without dogged enquiry into the shadowy world of a publication's genesis, and a serious attempt to come to terms with the world into which the book is delivered' (ibid., p. 209). In his study of Penguin's Spanish and Latin American poetry translations, Boll (2016) argues that 'a focus on the social interactions that produced those publications allows an observer to draw contemporary lessons from the Penguin history [...] one can begin to identify how new translation projects might be formulated in the current dispositions of publishing, public funding, research assessment and impact' (ibid., p. 57). In a timely way, therefore, this thesis draws on sociological, historical/archival, and textual approaches to construct the first 'microhistory' of Penguin's Russian Classics: the people, their working relations, their thoughts on translation and the end products.

Magarshack Archive

David Magarshack's private papers, stored at the Leeds Russian archive, comprise twenty-seven boxes (of texts, correspondence, notes, photographs, articles, reviews,

posters, and theatre programmes for productions which used his translations). While Fen's archive contains valuable correspondence with Rieu relating to her contributions as an advisor assisting with the early selection of translators and assessing sample translations (see Chapter Three), it does not contain articles, reviews, advertisements, notes or theorising which specifically relate to her translation practice. Magarshack's Penguin papers, therefore, have yielded the most comprehensive amount of information specifically relevant to this thesis. The accumulation of this personal material lends new insight into a man who needed to earn his living, which can be seen as early as 1928 in his letters seeking employment at the *Manchester Guardian* (18 June 1928, Ref: GB 133 GDN/A/M25). Magarshack's desire for status and professional affirmation is reflected in the papers he saved. The assiduous preservation of papers suggests that someone – perhaps Magarshack himself or his wife, Elsie – believed in the future merit of researchers being able to access the diverse range of references to his life's work, from fleeting mentions in the local press and a 'Happy New Year' postcard from the USSR-Great Britain Society, to boxes full of letters (from critics, publishers, and well-known cultural figures Sir John Gielgud (11 May 1954), thanking Magarshack for his advice on staging Chekhov, and Anthony Powell (15 March 1992) agreeing to endorse an effort by English Heritage to honour Magarshack's literary translations with a blue plaque).⁶ Magarshack's archive contains enough material about his role as an agent of translation (and translation theory) for a researcher to construct an original microhistory. For this reason, Magarshack features more than any other translator in this project. In particular, this thesis examines Magarshack's correspondence, literary reviews, and his notes on translation strategy, and juxtaposes this with an analysis of his 1955 Penguin translation of *The Idiot* with a view to finding the extent to which we can see the context in the publications. *The Idiot* has been chosen for archival and textual reasons. The Magarshack case study examines the development of his career from émigré, journalist, novelist, and biographer to successful literary translator (see Appendix 2 for a list of Magarshack's book-length publications), and analyses the way in which he utilised personal capital, position in the field, and reputation to further his career both within and beyond Penguin.

When handling primary sources, gaps emerge in correspondence; exchanges can suddenly tail off or die; there is the potential for ambiguity and subjectivity. During the

⁶ There is still no blue plaque dedicated to Magarshack and his work.

course of my research, I had the opportunity to interview Magarshack's daughter, Stella, who provided some of the biographical detail which was missing from the Penguin archive. However, where material is sourced via interviews – or 'oral history' (ibid., p. 66) – there is a risk that the 'mediation of memory' (ibid.) can result in unreliability. I treat this oral history with some caution, therefore, especially after discovering archived correspondence which suggested an alternative reality to some of the recollections I had recorded about Magarshack during my interview with Stella Magarshack.⁷

Wherever possible, I have corroborated reminiscences, either referring to other, alternative primary sources or to reliable secondary sources. Access to other archives has not always been possible, however. As Munday recognises, there are 'gatekeepers who control access' (ibid., p. 72). In the case of this project, permission was sought on several occasions, but has not yet been given by Curtis Brown, to explore the Columbia University-held Curtis Brown archive which holds further material relating to Magarshack.⁸

Chapter Summaries

This thesis consists of the following chapters:

Chapter One introduces the conceptual framework of Bourdieu's sociological turn and Munday's historical/archival methodology of constructing microhistories. The interplay of sociological and historical approaches in this chapter provides a schema for investigating Penguin's emergence as a major publishing house. This chapter applies Bourdieusian considerations to early Penguin history in order to identify factors which subsequently paved the way for the Penguin Classics series, for example: employer/employee interactions, book design and sales strategy, and market interest.

Chapter Two This chapter draws on an historical approach to analyse developments in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century socio-political climate which influenced the reception of Russian literature in the UK (the Great Game, the Crimean war and the implementation of the Forster Education Act) along with the

⁷ For example, according to Magarshack's daughter, Stella (2015), her father never used an agency, and yet Kevin Crossley-Holland's letter of 16 May 1973 (Magarshack, Box 1) which acknowledges termination of Magarshack's Gollancz contract is sent to Peter Grose, an employee of the literary agency Curtis Brown who, the letter makes clear, is acting on Magarshack's behalf.

⁸ The Curtis Brown archive log references Magarshack in Box 285 of Series II: Author Files: <http://findingaids.cul.columbia.edu/ead/nnc-rb/ldpd_4079685/dsc/2#subseries5040> [Accessed 07 June 2017].

agents who promoted Russian literature in the UK during this period. The aim of this chapter is to provide context so that the significance of Penguin's approaches to translating and publishing Russian classics can be fully appreciated later in this thesis. This chapter also incorporates a sociological approach to analyse agents of Russian literature, in particular, Heinemann's commercial relationship with Garnett, which serves as a precursory foil for Penguin's own relations with freelance translators approximately fifty years later.

Chapter Three analyses the origins of Penguin's Russian Medallion Titles through the historical/archival lens of microhistory, constructed largely based on correspondence held in the Penguin and Leeds Russian archives. It examines the backgrounds, careers and professional suitability of the editors Rieu and Glover and of their early freelancing translators, Gardiner, Fen, Edmonds and Magarshack. This chapter explores Penguin's publisher-editor-translator relations by investigating Penguin's day-to-day commissioning practices, with topics ranging from pay negotiations and royalties, to translation style, corrections, and deadlines. Archival material pertaining particularly to Fen, Magarshack and Edmonds provides historical and sociological insight into these practical concerns.

Chapter Four This chapter draws on a combination of sociological and historical/archival approaches to provide a more detailed case study of David Magarshack and his development as a translator with occasional comparisons to other translators as appropriate. This chapter utilises previously unpublished, and largely unexplored,⁹ drafts, lectures, and notes on translation as a means of analysing how Magarshack's professional background (a life spent partly in Russia and a career spent entirely in the UK) formed the general principles behind his translations. It locates Magarshack's views on translation among contemporary Soviet and Western translation scholars (an historical contextualising process which the sociological turn encourages) and explores how Magarshack's personal and professional (Penguin) background is channelled into his final commission, a book on literary translation theory.

Chapter Five This chapter evaluates Magarshack's practice in light of his own theorising (summarised in Chapter Four) and seeks textual manifestations of his personal and professional background (as detailed in Chapters Three and Four). The

⁹ A self-declared Magarshack enthusiast (email to CMcAteer, 14 November 2016), Andrei Rogatchevskii is the only other person known to have compiled a general review of Magarshack's archive. Rogatchevskii's article, 'Perevodchik Magarshack' (2000), published in *Russkoe evreistvo v zarubezhe*, outlines Magarshack's career.

chapter therefore synthesises two methodological approaches: historical and textual. Archival insight supports a traditional text-based analysis of Magarshack's Penguin translation of *The Idiot*, selected because it benefits from the richest documentation of all of Magarshack's Penguin commissions. Transatlantic negotiations over use of *The Idiot* highlight for the first time the reality of Magarshack's position within Penguin's collaborative network. This chapter also considers the opinions of reviewers at the time when *The Idiot* was published with a view to assessing how Magarshack's translation strategies were received.

Conclusion: Thesis Outcomes evaluates the effectiveness of Bourdieu's sociological model and the outcomes of combining sociological, historical/archival and textual approaches as a framework for investigating Penguin and its practitioners, specifically Magarshack. It asserts that Penguin's distinctive success lies in socio-cultural timeliness, in the shrewd selection of experts to form constructive networks of agents, and the ability of its agents to seize opportunities (and, at times, to challenge the field's status quo) for mutual and individual benefit. The conclusion explores the extent to which the Anglophone readership received Penguin's and Magarshack's Russian Classics through a specific, Penguin filter and argues that Penguin and Magarshack left literary legacies for Russian literature in English translation.

Chapter One: Positioning Penguin Books in the Sociological Turn

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine the key events, decisions, and acquaintances in Allen Lane's life which resulted in the launch of his publishing house and which also later proved advantageous when introducing new book lists such as the Penguin (Russian) Classics series. The emphasis this chapter places on Lane, his advisors, editors and translators, on the social backgrounds of these agents and their capital encourages an analysis which combines two approaches. The first is sociological, inspired initially by Pierre Bourdieu and developed by translation scholars over the last twenty years. The two works by Bourdieu which primarily influence this chapter are his collection of papers in translation published as *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993) and his piece 'Une révolution conservatrice dans l'édition' (1999) translated by Ryan Fraser as 'A Conservative Revolution in Publishing' (2008) and retranslated more recently by Anthony Pym (2017), based on a 2005 translation by Mieranda Vlot. These works attempt to identify the nature of agency and agents, evaluating their interactions in the field of publishing. In particular, Pym singles out 'A Conservative Revolution in Publishing' because 'it is one of the very few sociological studies of the literary field that explicitly analyzes the role of translation' (2017, p. 2). An exploration of these works will enable me to juxtapose Bourdieu's study of French publishers and their practices with Lane's social trajectory and publishing house. In doing so, I will demonstrate that there are some parallels between Bourdieu's summary of French publishing practice and the corporate evolution of Penguin Books, but that, as far as 'typical publishers' are concerned, Lane does not conform to Bourdieu's model. I will argue that it is Lane's example of non-conformity which paved the way ultimately for Penguin's success.

The second methodological approach is an historical one: the construction of microhistories, as advocated recently by Munday, drawing on work by Carlo Ginzburg and Giovanni Levi. This thesis recognises Munday's methodology as a valuable development for the sociological turn. Munday argues for the usefulness of a microhistory because 'it links the individual case study with the general socio-historical context' (2014, p. 75). He acknowledges that careful application of a microhistorical approach provides the means to reveal information about sociological factors – the

agents, the nature of their agency, the climate in which they work – which form an era of translation (like Penguin Classics, for example):

It behoves us to seek out and preserve such accounts and to relate them to the wider social and cultural conditions in which the individuals lived in order to enhance our understanding of the general history of translation. (Munday, 2014, p. 77)

He continues:

On the larger scale, the new narratives we construe [...] have the potential to challenge dominant historical discourses of text production (ibid.).

Munday maintains that, even taking into account the limitations of archival study as described already, archives are nevertheless much under-utilised resources which provide new scope for assessing the individual publisher, editor, and translator in their broader ‘socio-historical and cultural contexts’ (2014, p. 65). He argues in favour of using archives ‘to excavate and recover details of lives past [...] in order to constitute what I term a “microhistory” of translation and translators’ (ibid., p. 64). Munday acknowledges that the term ‘microhistory’ has its origins in the humanities and is associated with ‘historians, social scientists and literary theorists’ (ibid.). In an earlier paper, ‘The Role of Archival and Manuscript Research in the Investigation of Translator Decision-Making’ (2013), Munday notes that the use of archived materials to access ‘the creative process that is literary translation’ (ibid., p. 126) is ‘not a typical form of analysis in translation process research’ (ibid.). However, if translation scholars are sufficiently flexible to apply methods from the social sciences, arts and humanities to their own discipline, and they can access material which is ‘generally hard to find in many collections and require[s] some excavation’ (Munday, 2014, p. 71), then archived documents can prove, according to Munday, ‘indispensable’ (ibid., p. 64). This is an area of rapidly growing interest in translation research.

Translation case studies like mine often adopt a Bourdieu-influenced approach and vocabulary as a way of redefining the literary field (Wolf, 2007, p. 31). Penguin, as an institution which occupied a key position in the UK’s literary field, relied on the sorts of influences often associated with Bourdieu’s sociology: networks of agency, exchange of capital between agents, patronage and collaboration. I will need to adopt some of these Bourdieusian terms at times in my analysis too, therefore, in order to deliver a meaningful evaluation of Penguin’s corporate and literary position, to interpret the sociological relevance of archived primary material, and then to make visible Penguin’s

less well-known individuals. Sociological terminology can occasionally be problematic, though, and is often regarded as overly abstract and imprecise, consistent with a research area ‘still “in the making”’ (ibid.). Bourdieu’s own treatment of sociological concepts, habitus for example, has been described as nebulous (Walther, 2014, p. 22) and, according to translation scholar Reine Meylaerts ‘the concept suffers from theoretical abstraction and methodological imprecision’ (2006, p. 60). There is a recognition among translation scholars, like Meylaerts, that Bourdieu’s vocabulary requires further refinement if it is to serve Translation Studies effectively. In the spirit of ongoing critique, this thesis incorporates Bourdieusian terms (such as: ‘social agents’, ‘capital’, ‘habitus’, ‘patronage’, ‘symbolic violence’, ‘*illusio*’) but also contributes to the refinement which Meylaerts seeks by demonstrating that some terms are more useful than others in the context of Penguin and its employees. In the chapters which are dedicated to Magarshack, for example, I argue that the term ‘*hexis*’ is more applicable to exploring the complexities of character and position than the term ‘habitus’.

Bourdieu and the Field of Cultural Production

In July 1935, the Lane brothers – Allen, Richard and John – published their first ten paperback titles and distributed them through the struggling Bodley Head in the hope of saving their Uncle John Lane’s publishing house. The brothers set up and became directors of Penguin Books Ltd. on 1 January 1936 with a ‘nominal capital of £100’ (Yates, 2006, p. 109). The Bodley Head went into voluntary liquidation in May 1936. The outcome of their initial venture, according to John Feather in *A History of British Publishing* (2006), was that Penguin’s paperbacks ‘took books into far more homes than had ever had them before’ and the paperback ‘became the basis of a sub-industry within publishing, linked to the major houses, but with its own traditions and its own marketing and distribution arrangements’ (pp. 179-180).

Penguin is an example, therefore, of what Bourdieu interprets as a space of multiple dimensions, with clusters of like-minded individuals, operating within the broader literary field of publishing (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 16). It represents an autonomous social universe where the political, social, financial and demographic norms of the real world become retranslated according to the field’s own laws of functioning and logic (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 14). The editors and Russian literary translators who were attracted by Penguin’s employment opportunities would be

referred to by Bourdieu as ‘social agents’ (ibid., p. 7). It is these agents who occupy posts in the field’s structure under the auspices of their Penguin employer (also an agent), and forge the ‘close correspondence that is found between positions and dispositions’ (ibid., p. 65). Penguin employed editors and translators who possessed a personalised blending of biographical experiences and resulting dispositions – their *habitus* – and an accumulation of (personal and professional) capital, which entities are closely linked (ibid.). The possession of any capital – which can be economic, but also symbolic, for example, experiential, cultural, intellectual, linguistic, literary, and reputational (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 183 and p. 232) – allows an agent to compete for position within a cultural and commercial institution like Penguin. While the publisher brings entrepreneurial capital to the field, the editor’s and the freelancing literary translator’s capital is largely symbolic (linguistic, cultural and literary) and may refer to a ‘degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration or honour’ (Johnson, 1993, p. 7). These aspects will be discussed later (Chapters Four and Five) with regard to Magarshack and his desire for prestige.

A ‘Feel for the Game’ at Penguin

As we will see later in this chapter, Lane, in particular, exemplifies Bourdieu’s description of *habitus* as an individual’s ‘feel for the game’ (1993, p. 189), a phrase which suggests natural intuition combined with professional experience. *Habitus* is a distillation of dispositions – developed either naturally, in our interactions with the world, or through professional training – and a constellation of different professional positions, spanning time and place but finding relevance within the field (ibid.). Analysis of the *habitus* has sparked common interest among Bourdieu-inspired translation scholars; Moira Inghilleri identifies an inextricable link between agents, *habitus*, field and capital (Inghilleri, 2005, p. 135). For Pym:

[...] *habitus* is ‘not just in what people say but in the way they act, feel, think, and move their bodies (i.e. it is “embodied”), [...] your *habitus* develops and changes throughout your life, as you interact with different social structures, so the concept is very dynamic – a profession can be seen as a historically developing *habitus*. (2011, p. 82)

Incorporated into this interpretation is the additional sense that *habitus* is “‘pre-determined” or “pre-adapted” by the particular social trajectory of the agents involved’ (Inghilleri, 2005, p. 136), whose practice will also be influenced and shaped by the norms they encounter while navigating the field. Magarshack’s trajectory (from an

émigré with scarcely any English to an English graduate, journalist to novelist, translator and biographer to translation theorist) provides a vivid illustration of it. Simeoni describes the translator's journey from novice to professional as being 'a slow process of inculcation' (1998, p. 5), one which leads from initial dependence on external, social pressures to liberation as those pressures are subsumed into the translator's psyche, and consequently, imparted to their work, albeit subconsciously:

The surface manifestations that we study as translation scholars – translations as end-results of constraining processes – are typically entwined, both mental and social products. (Ibid.)

The notions of *Fremdzwänge* (externally imposed constraints) and *Selbstzwänge* (self-imposed constraints), as coined by the German sociologist Norbert Elias (1897-1990),¹⁰ form a basis to Simeoni's argument, namely that there comes a point when a translator's habitus is saturated to such an extent by *Fremdzwänge* that they become an integral part of the psyche, they become *Selbstzwänge*. Through his reading of Elias, Simeoni argues that the translator habitus rests professionally on a characteristic of subservience, which permeates at an individual and a group level. He describes it as remarkable that 'prominent translators have [...] readily claimed to be the servants of a higher function or of another agent (usually the author), invariably better placed or positioned in the social sphere, to whom they claimed deference' (1998, p. 8). He portrays the Western translator as the 'quintessential servant: efficient, punctual, hardworking, salient and yes, invisible' (ibid., p. 12). For Simeoni, the translator cannot avoid 'conflicts of authority' (ibid.) and must concede that 'the higher bidder carries the day' (ibid.). This argument will be explored at greater length in subsequent chapters when examining Penguin's practices and especially with regard to Magarshack, whose self-image of being equal to the source author (see Chapter Four) affirms Sela-Sheffy's (2008, p. 617) evaluation of the translator as a prestige-seeker as much as it does Simeoni's assertion that the translator is subservient.

Penguin from the Top Down: Patronage and Subservience

Referred to as 'King Penguin' in J.E. Morpurgo's 1979 biography, Lane holds the role of patron at Penguin. Lane paved the way for opportunities for author-, editor- and translator-hopefuls alike, and the usual expectations of patronage applied. Bourdieu

¹⁰ See Norbert Elias Foundation, <<http://www.norberteliasfoundation.nl/>> [Accessed 03 August 2016].

describes the publisher-patron as an individual who courts like-minded business companions, agents who in all likelihood will share an affinity for and an allegiance to the publishing house and brand. The publisher seeks external advice and implements decisions via the vehicle of specially selected advisory committees, but, ultimately, the publisher determines corporate policy as a response to the business's position in the field (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 124). Penguin's later move towards a more scholarly style of Penguin Classics translation overseen by Betty Radice (Crowe, 2012, pp. 207-208) is, for example, a corporate response to an increased use in university teaching of their translated texts during the 1960s.

Power and capital, whether financial or symbolic, reside in agents to varying degrees, but the greatest opportunities to challenge and subvert the order of things rest with the agents at the top of the publishing-house (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 183; 2008, p. 124). It is Lane, for example, who drives the innovative policy of selling cheap, paperback books for lay readers, who identifies the commercial value (and scope) of commissioning new translations of foreign classics in the style of Rieu's *Odyssey*, and who successfully challenges the 1959 Obscene Publications Act. Internal challenges to the existing structure which may be deemed insubordinate by the corporate hierarchy (for example, individual objections to terms and conditions, financial disputes, attempts to renegotiate over-ambitious deadlines, etc.) can be minimised, or at least partially managed by bonds of interdependence. From Lane, at the top of the hierarchy, down to the freelance translator commissioned for ad hoc work, the nature of the relationship is clearly demarcated: the publisher requires the safe, timely and satisfactory delivery of a profitable good, while the translator expects in return contractual, financial, and potentially reputational (symbolic) benefits (payment, corporate brand, publicity, and sales and marketing outlay by Penguin). Both sides are mutually inclined to cooperate and deliver. Bourdieu observes that the publisher must have a 'dual character, one that can reconcile art and money, love of literature and the pursuit of profit, by devising strategies situated somewhere between the two extremes of cynical subservience and heroic indifference to the house's economic needs' (2008, p. 138). Meanwhile, it is the editor who fulfils the crucial role of intermediary and is tasked with the difficult job of brokering the mutual satisfaction of both parties. I will examine the extent to which the Penguin Classics editors Rieu and Glover perform this function in Chapter Three.

Even though Bourdieu (1993, p. 30) identifies the exchange of capital as the conduit for a working relationship between agents, it is clear from the tone of some letters sent by Penguin's Russian translators to their editors (as we will see in Chapter Three) that the role of the translator-agent still presents varying opportunities for subservience: to the patron; the commissioning client; the corporate brand and in-house style; the publishing deadline; the target readership; the source text and, finally, to the source author. To challenge the norms which govern a translator would require a radical combination of factors in the translator's habitus. As Simeoni observes:

Norms have the upper hand. Translators adhere to them more often than not. They may not like this, and may often wish they could distance themselves more from them, but they recognize their power. However, since the process is very much the same in all sectors of society governed by norms, i.e. pretty much everywhere, the question of the agency behind norms in general and behind translational norms in particular, begs for an answer. (1998, p. 6)

There will be specific analysis in subsequent chapters of the Penguin translators' habitus and their notions of subservience, and on whether general and/or translational norms govern the translators of Penguin's Russian Classics. However, I would argue that, as Penguin's patron, Lane succeeded in bucking external norms at significant points in his career and, therefore, challenges Simeoni's general assessment that agency is governed by norms 'pretty much everywhere'. Probably best known as the man who published *Lady Chatterley's Lover* – which will be explored in greater depth in Chapter Two – Lane's achievements suggest that the higher up the hierarchy an agent is, the greater the prospects are for subverting structures.

Vulnerability exists in the publisher habitus too, and yet this is a dimension which is all too frequently overlooked. McCleery (2002) argues that in critical contributions to book history the publisher has been perceived as an 'enemy rather than a facilitator or collaborator' (p. 161), an agent who is denied not just a name (ibid.) but, by implication, mitigating human deficiencies too. Deficiencies exist though, and gaps in ability or knowledge must be overcome by a reliance on and, arguably, relative subservience to networks of experts who have been specially recruited for their knowledge. 'Objective interactions between the agents involved in decision-making' (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 123) shape publishing practice; they determine the corporate ethos and result in the 'transfer of symbolic capital' (ibid.) between agents. The interconnectivity that extends between Penguin's agents – Lane, Rieu and the Penguin translators – results in the venture's

success (both financial and symbolic) but also in struggles and tensions as individuals sacrifice or augment a part of themselves for the collective.

Power Dynamics at Penguin

One of the underpinning assumptions of this thesis is that the publisher, editor, and translator cannot work in a vacuum free from the dynamics of commercial, social, and professional interactions. There are instances at Penguin where publisher-editor-translator relations suffer, as has been shown in archived correspondence. Where relations peter out and there is little by way of counter-negotiation or resistance on the part of the translator, this often results in diminished relations. Take, for example, Penguin's delayed payment (by more than two decades) of royalties to the first Penguin Russian translator, Gilbert Gardiner (see Chapter Three) and also to author Agatha Christie (Lewis, 2006, p. 33). (Garnett also experiences similar payment difficulties with her publisher William Heinemann, as we will see in Chapter Two.) Similarly, where a translator fails to achieve the desired standard of work, they are shelved from future work and an alternative translator commissioned instead (as will be seen with Fen, Edmonds and Magarshack in Chapter Three). The resignation of Penguin's dedicated but disillusioned copyeditor Glover, also discussed in Chapter Three, is another example of an agent having been dominated but, in this instance, resignation may be viewed as the editor's own assertion of power. Once a previously balanced relationship of interdependence becomes imbalanced, the dominated agent is more likely to experience 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 280, n. 7), a term which Webb, Schirato and Danaher have defined as 'violence which is exercised upon individuals in a symbolic, rather than a physical way. It may take the form of people being denied resources, treated as inferior, or being limited in terms of realistic aspirations' (2002, p. xvi). Bourdieu's definition of the literary field as a self-regulating, 'independent social universe' (1993, p. 163) exercising its own power offers an explanation for how a situation of domination may arise, and how agents (translators) who historically feature lower down in the field's hierarchy are traditionally associated with subservience.¹¹ Translators feature last in Bourdieu's list of agents who contribute meaningfully to the

¹¹ Many scholars including Chesterman (2002, p. 78) and Simeoni (1998, pp. 7-8) have observed that the translator historically cultivates a relationship of subservience to their commissioner. Simeoni argues that 'Translators [...] have always occupied subservient positions among the dominant professions of the cultural sphere' (ibid.).

publishing house's literary process (Bourdieu, 2008, pp. 123-124) and are reported as being 'often little more than the adaptor of a foreign product' (ibid., p. 148).

The Sociological Turn in Translation Studies

In spite of their role in fulfilling the Penguin Classics mission and, ultimately, in forming the modern Anglophone appreciation of the Russian literary canon, Penguin's freelance Russian translators have, until now, been more invisible than visible, appearing only by name on the cover page of their translations and later, in the Black Cover series, in a brief biographical résumé alongside the author. The lack of research into these translators represents a general tendency in Translation Studies, largely upheld until fifteen years ago, to discuss translation in text-centric terms,¹² while overlooking the agents of translation and their practices. However, the publication in 2005 of a special issue of *The Translator* (11, 2), edited by Inghilleri and dedicated to the application of Bourdieu's sociology to the field of translation, heralded a new way of thinking about translation and marks a key developmental moment in modern Translation Studies. In this issue Inghilleri, Buzelin, Jean-Marc Gouanvic and Sameh Hanna seek to take the discussion beyond the translated text; their focus includes agents of production, 'which may be isolated individuals, groups or institutions' (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 29), and their processes of producing and consecrating a translated text, what Bourdieu would term a cultural, 'symbolic good' (ibid., p. 113). The sociological turn aims to make visible the agents, therefore, who drive the transnational process of consecration, and by doing so, make their practices visible too. Hanna argues in 'Hamlet Lives Happily Ever After in Arabic' (2005) that, up to the time of publication, 'translation historians have been mostly concerned with constructing narratives of past translation theories rather than the actual social practices of individual translators' (ibid., p. 169). Hanna builds on Simeoni's (1998, p. 32) observation that the translator has succumbed to historical invisibility, making it all the more difficult to build an identity around the individual's social practices. Munday's microhistorical methodology, however, strives specifically to make the translator visible and offers new possibilities for understanding the agency of Penguin's freelancers in particular, but also the wider 'role of translation in concrete

¹² As Inghilleri puts it, the shift in the 1980s towards Toury's cultural turn saw a move 'away from the dominance of linguistic and semiotic approaches [...] and their bias towards text-based analyses' (2005, p. 126).

socio-historical contexts' (Munday, 2013, p. 128). In the same way that Ginzburg's book *The Cheese and the Worms* (1980), to which Munday refers (2014, p. 67), brings to the fore a seemingly obscure, sixteenth-century Italian miller, I will be constructing a microhistory around the Penguin editors and translators (Magarshack, in particular) in Chapters Three to Five in order to validate these 'otherwise unknown individuals who would at most be a footnote in a larger account of the period' (ibid.). They should not be explored in isolation, though. The interconnected nature of agency in the literary field means that Munday's specific interest in the translator (ibid., p. 64) should be expanded to include a comparable analysis of the other agents vital to the transnational circulation of literary works too. Only by surveying the spectrum of key agents and their socio-historical contexts can Munday's aspiration 'to uncover the power relations at work in the production of the literary text' (ibid., p. 67) be satisfactorily fulfilled.

In recent years, theorists have begun to explore the nature of collaborative agency of the type demonstrated by Lane and Rieu for the Penguin Classics series. Johan Heilbron and Gisèle Sapiro argue that a 'proper sociological analysis' of the international circulation of texts must cross the disciplines of literary history, Translation Studies and studies in cultural transfer and collectively 'embrace the whole set of social relations within which translations are produced and circulated' (2007, p. 94). Michaela Wolf (2007, p. 118) argues in "The Location of the "Translation Field"" that the social interactions occupying a 'mediation space' lead to an act of negotiation between multiple voices – like those operating as employees and commissioned freelancers in the Penguin Classics series – which determine the nature and content of the cultural good, the translated text. Andrew Chesterman's essay, 'Bridge Concepts in Translation Sociology' (2007) and Sharon Deane-Cox's book *Retranslation: Translation, Literature and Reinterpretation* (2014) identify the significance of agents and their sociological circumstances. Deane-Cox argues, as I will do throughout this thesis, that 'the emergence, format and status of retranslations in the literary field are all contingent on a tangle of ideological, commercial and symbolic variables' (p. 79).

Analysis of a target nation's socio-cultural composition provides insight, therefore, into how a canon evolves in translation. This model – followed in my own research as a way of understanding the popularity of Penguin's Russian Classics – is presented by Gouanvic in his article 'Outline of a Sociology of Translation Informed by the Ideas of Pierre Bourdieu' (2010). Gouanvic ('one of the earliest advocates of the pertinence of

Bourdieu's writings to Translation Studies' (Cronin, 2006, p. 218)) explores the socio-political developments which made France receptive to translations of American science-fiction after the Second World War (Gouanvic, 2010, p. 124). He also analyses the suitability of the translator-agents recruited to produce the first science-fiction translations and, like Simeoni, argues that the translator's habitus plays a significant role in determining translation practice. Gouanvic examines how Marcel Duhamel, founder of the Série Noire publishing imprint (Morelle, n.d.), created a team of translators by means not unlike those of Penguin and Rieu: Duhamel did so not 'without difficulty, but through trial and error' and his team consisted of 'translators with diverse backgrounds, but rarely intellectual' (Gouanvic, 2010, p. 125). Rieu was adamant that his Penguin Classics should not be translated 'by scholars for scholars' (Rieu, 1944). Gouanvic argues along similar lines that failure by Duhamel's translators to engage with the text in a convincingly stylistic, genre-specific way would have led their 'work to be "unsuccessful" with the francophone reader, who might then abandon the reading of the novel or adopt a negative opinion of the original author who is lauded in his or her home culture' (Gouanvic, 2010, p. 127). This refers to the concept of *illusio*, which Bourdieu describes as 'that originating adherence to the literary game which grounds the belief in the importance or interest of literary fictions' (1996, p. 333). Whilst *illusio* is important for connecting the reader directly with the source text's nuances and source culture, capturing it successfully is not the translator's sole responsibility. Successful integration of a text in a target culture – especially a target culture like Britain with its history of Russophobic tendencies (see Chapter Two) – also depends on factors such as the paratext which accompanies a translation, on how a text is marketed, and ultimately, the extent to which a target audience has the social or political appetite to be receptive in the first place.

Allen Lane: An 'Ideal' Publisher?

From his research into the French publishing industry, Bourdieu offers a profile of a 'typical' publisher which, as we will see, proves to be culturally bound.¹³ Bourdieu is mainly interested in 'highbrow' literary publishing, not mass publishing models. We would not necessarily expect Lane, therefore, as a popular publisher, to conform to

¹³ Simeoni identifies this aspect of Bourdieu's approach too, noting that 'when all is said and done, his work may turn out to be less that of a systemicist than of an empiricist or fieldworker' (1998, p. 17).

Bourdieu's 'typical publisher' profile and, in demographic terms, Lane's publishing enterprise only partially satisfies Bourdieu's description of the small publishing house. For Bourdieu, French 'small-time publishers' are 'located for the main part in the provinces and run by women with extensive knowledge of literature' (2008, p. 135); they are 'more likely to be headed by younger people and women, originating from a higher social class, benefiting from an extensive background in literature and demonstrating a great intellectual and emotional investment in their work' (ibid., p. 138). Nevertheless, Bourdieu's observations, with their emphasis on exchanges of power, provide a useful framework with which to consider Lane and the interactions which shaped the Penguin Russian Classics. Lane was indeed younger – born in 1902 and, at the time of inheriting The Bodley Head, he was just twenty-three years old – but male, not female; located in London (at least until 1937); not originating from a higher class; and while demonstrating a great deal of intellectual and emotional investment in his work, Lane certainly did not benefit from an extensive background in studying literature. According to his biographer, neither Lane nor his two younger brothers passed a single public examination between them (Lewis, 2006, p. 16).

With no better prospects at home in Bristol, Allen moved to London in April 1919 to learn the publishing trade at The Bodley Head, the well-established house founded in 1887 by his publisher uncle John Lane, the so-called *enfant terrible* of British publishing (Feather, 2006, p. 173) who had no heirs. Sixteen-year-old Lane joined his uncle to start work from the bottom up, as office boy, then general dogsbody, packer, progressing to accounts and royalties, liaising with printers, merchants, binders and then taking to the road himself as a book-seller (Lewis, 2006, p. 25). It was this thorough grounding in all areas of the business, an experience generally denied to university graduates arriving directly at editorial level, which he credited with giving him a full understanding of the publishing industry (ibid., pp. 26-27). Lane was fully initiated in the workings of the company, therefore, and, having already served a six-year apprenticeship before being made director on his uncle's death in 1925, and Chairman in 1930 (Yates, 2006, p. 80), he was no empty heir.

Lane was a different breed from the emerging publishers of the late 1920s-1930s (Victor Gollancz, (Jamie) Hamish Hamilton, Martin Secker, and John Holroyd-Reece).¹⁴

¹⁴ Lewis writes of Lane heralding a new era where 'the day of the "quiet, gentlemanly publisher" had passed' (2006, p. 88).

In the midst of a wave of new, post-war, so-called ‘gentleman publishers’ (Lewis, 2006, p. 27), John and Allen Lane were old-school publishers, ‘self-taught tradesmen from the lower middle-classes, very often with a Nonconformist background, who went straight from school to a publisher’s office’ (ibid.). The Lanes were not privately educated men boasting Oxbridge degrees and robust financial backing which enabled them to invest in their publishing houses; in other words, they were not “‘dynastic” publishers’ (ibid.).¹⁵ Lane’s inheritance was not the nest-egg to which one might assume Bourdieu (2008, p. 138) is alluding when he describes how older publishing companies are passed down to their natural heirs. The Bodley Head had already endured a decade of financial difficulty, starting in the 1920s, and by the time Lane became company director and was in a position of corporate responsibility, the business was an establishment in severe decline, soon to fall into receivership.

In terms of his suitability for the role of publisher, it remains unclear whether Lane ever took any genuine interest in literature. While the politician and writer Woodrow Wyatt describes Lane as being ‘widely read and [...] that remarkable being – a cultured and thinking publisher’ (Hare, 1995, p. 14), Lane’s own editor-in-chief from 1936-1965, William E. Williams, wrote of Lane, ‘Although Allen became a dedicated publisher, he read very little either for personal or business motives, and he knew virtually nothing about literature’ (ibid.). Lewis, Lane’s biographer, is perhaps closer to the mark in his assessment of these contradictions:

Throughout his career, Allen Lane both endured and encouraged the notion that he was not a great reader, but although he never claimed to be an intellectual or a literary man, he almost certainly read a good deal more, and more widely, than he let on, and to pose as an unbookish businessman was, in part, a useful subterfuge. (2006, p. 54)

Instead of formal academic qualifications, Lane possessed an enquiring intellect (ibid., p. 225), an affinity with literature for the masses (if not necessarily for literature itself), ruthlessness and commercial acumen (McCleery, 2002, p. 179) which saw opportunities, possibilities and connections all around (Lewis, 2006, p. 4): what Bourdieu refers to as ‘flair’ (1993, p. 134). Lane’s apprentice Ben Travers noted that, ‘Lane had a sixth sense which enabled him to discover merit in a derelict manuscript or in some original and revolutionary project without himself ever reading a page or investigating a detail’ (Lewis, 2006, pp. 22-23). Lane’s idea of merit here could be

¹⁵ See also, Morpurgo (1979, pp. 297-8).

literary, but might not necessarily be topical. Given that the Penguin Classics series coincided with the Cold War era, it would be natural to wonder whether Lane's interest in Russian classics reflected the geopolitical situation. In the Penguin archive's Russian folders, only one title offers some degree of insight into Lane's personal view:

Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. Even though, according to Lane, the novel may indicate 'a change of thinking in Moscow' (Memo from AL [Allen Lane] to AG [Antony Godwin], 4 February 1963, Ref.: DM1107/2053), he describes the novel's potential in doubtful terms from the outset:

[...] we doubt whether it has any real literary merit. We think that it may well be one of those books which have a large sale on publication caused by public curiosity, but this is soon satisfied and it may well become a dead duck quite soon. (Ibid.)

Lane could not identify any lasting merit – literary or topical – in funding a publication like Solzhenitsyn's, a view which challenges any thought that Penguin produced a high number of Russian classics in response to readers' interests in the Cold War and the USSR. In the absence of any further proof in the Penguin archive, I have felt it necessary to dispense with the assumption that Penguin hoped to capitalise specifically on the state of Anglo-Soviet relations – the so-called Red Scare – through their sale of Penguin Russian Classics. Rather more obvious is the level of interest among psychologists, in particular, in the Dostoevskii translations, requesting permission to use extracts in their course notes and publications (DM1107/L23). The more dynamic motivation, therefore, appears to have been Lane's interest in works of 'real literary merit' and Rieu's personal desire – first expressed to his friend 'Kitto' (Humphrey Davy Findley Kitto, Professor of Greek at the University of Bristol (University of Bristol, 2002) – 'to select works that have a perennial value' (Rieu, 1944), which would, therefore, transcend political eras. It seems that Rieu's mission was to offer Penguin readers *belles-lettres* rather than a politically-significant, cultural diplomatic service.

Emerging as something of a black sheep in the publishing world of his day, the young Lane's trajectory is not unlike that of the French publisher Bernard Fixot, as described by Bourdieu. The parallels are clear:

Coming from a background far removed from the more cultivated, literary circles, and reaching the top of a major group after climbing through every echelon of the field's commercial sector [...], he had difficulty fitting in with the publishing world, which looked down on him [...] as something of a black sheep. His leaning is toward a sort of literary populism mixed with anti-intellectualist sentiment, which prompts him to cater first and foremost (and with some sincerity) to the widest possible readership. (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 139)

According to Bourdieu's findings, a disinterest or ignorance regarding literature is not uncommon among publishers. Whilst they may boast a plethora of commercial talents, the 'first generation publisher, with his on-the-job training [...] cannot help but come across as limited, handicapped even, amputated of the vital literary dimension' (ibid.). Regarding those publishing houses which follow the US trend of passing 'into the hands of conglomerates that have nothing to do with publishing – banks, oil companies, electricity companies' (ibid., p. 140), Bourdieu quotes at length an 'old school' literary agent's exasperation with modern publisher types, suggesting not only that Bourdieu himself endorses the agent's almost stinging evaluation, but that he would also generally prefer to see a literary figure filling the role of publisher:

[...] these people who are – quote unquote – 'amateurs': there is a contingent of editors who are running publishing houses and who are, at the risk of sounding malicious, almost illiterate: the *publishers* don't know how to read, which is of course the first thing any publisher should know. What they can do, however, is count. (Ibid., pp. 139-140)

Lane's non-literary disposition drove commercial innovation at The Bodley Head and at Penguin and earned him a reputation as a having 'single-minded determination, an entrepreneur's instinct, [...] and a readiness to exploit and realize the talents and achievements of others' (Lewis, 2006, p. 71), which recalls Bourdieu's other description of 'ideal' publishers as individuals who:

[...] should be at once inspired speculators, risk takers and meticulous accountants who may even be somewhat miserly. Depending on the positions they occupy in the field structure [...], on the trajectories by which they came to occupy these positions and on their dispositions, publishers can be people of commerce much like art dealers. (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 138)

Although such a description, with its focus on entrepreneurship and numerical capability, aligns Lane more closely with Bourdieu's aforementioned publisher 'amateurs', I maintain that, based on the above evaluation, the 'ideal' publisher need not be a wholly literary figure after all. In fact, Lane's greatest skill appears to have been his non-literary, purely entrepreneurial ability to evaluate risks and spot and seize opportunities, no matter how uncertain success might have appeared.¹⁶ Lane's early Penguin years were about selling as many books as possible – not necessarily about offering the highest 'quality' literature – in order to keep his venture afloat. The best way for him to achieve high sales was for his book list to appeal to as many people as

¹⁶ On launching his first Penguin list he is remembered as having said (presumably not seriously), 'Of one thing I'm sure; there's no money in it for anybody' (Lewis, 2006, p. 110).

possible, a formula based on quantity rather than quality. Lane took a different route, therefore, to the one taken by those French publishers, whom Bourdieu describes as having ‘good novels and very good authors who are unlikely to sell in large numbers, but who offer quality’ (ibid.). This view reflects a bias on Bourdieu’s part to the more ‘high status’ end of the publishing market.

Lane was keen to retain the company name and also to revive The Bodley Head’s ‘house image’, formed of a desire to publish adventurous books (which Lane first achieved most successfully with the publication of the first British edition of James Joyce’s *Ulysses* in 1936 (Feather, 2006, p. 174)). In spite of such aspirations, though, Lane’s efforts still proved insufficient to save The Bodley Head’s struggling finances, and the Penguin Books imprint was born out of necessity under the auspices of The Bodley Head (Lewis, 2006, p. 60). Feather (2006, p. 174) challenges Lane’s view that paperback books grew out of a popular demand for cheap books, asserting instead that it was the need to save The Bodley Head that forged Lane’s business strategy. I will argue, however, that popular demand and financial straits are, in fact, just two key factors among several which played a part in securing the success of the Penguin paperback.

Penguin Books: Reinventing the Paperback

Lane’s much-reported inability to find something to read at Exeter St David’s railway station in 1934 (Penguin Random House, 2017)¹⁷ set in motion a series of publishing decisions which, stage-by-stage, would prepare a mass, lay readership ultimately to engage with and appreciate Russian literature in translation. It took at least another fifteen years, however, before Penguin’s first retranslation of a Russian classic (Turgenev’s *On the Eve*) was released for sale in the UK. There is merit, therefore, in now exploring the ‘strategies that are more or less obviously commercial’ (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 137), but social too, which enabled Lane, later, to expand the Penguin range to include works by Russian authors and to build a corporate infrastructure which would ensure their widespread distribution and appeal.

Penguin Books started out with the scarcest of resources, the sort of enterprise defined by Bourdieu (ibid., p. 135) as innovative, but lacking a number of things including: advertising power; crucial networking contacts and connections (press-

¹⁷ In May 2017, Exeter St David’s Station installed an orange plaque commemorating Lane’s journey and the significance of the station to Lane’s literary contribution (Penguin Random House, 2017).

officers and high society contacts); the opportunity to compete for the purchase of foreign rights or literary prizes; and 'selecting and evaluating authorities such as reading committees, which are often fertile ground for accumulating social capital in the form of contacts' (ibid.). Through astute financing, entrepreneurial risk, and close collaboration (Lewis, 2006, p. 103), Lane published the first ten Penguin paperbacks on 30 July 1935 (Yates, 2006, p. 109). Collaboration was with his brothers, John and Richard (Yates, 2006, p. 80), and then with a growing team of supporter-advisors: the first woman director of Penguin, Eunice 'Frostie' Frost, appointed initially as Lane's secretary in 1938 (ibid., p. 59), and editor-in-chief, William Emrys Williams (ibid., p. 157), Penguin Classics series editor appointed in 1944, E.V. Rieu (Hare, 1995, p. 186), and copyeditor, A.S.B. Glover, also from 1944 (Yates, 2006, p. 61). By early 1936, when Penguin was proving itself an early success and The Bodley Head had gone into voluntary liquidation (Hare, 1995, p. 8), Lane found himself in a paradoxical situation: he was behind the director's desk as decision-maker but, given the company's straitened circumstances, also back at the coal-face, combining the role of innovator with risk-taker, title-negotiator, supply-chain consolidator, book-vendor, accountant, delivery un-loader and book-packer.

However, in 1939, four years after Penguin was first conceived, Britain was coming out of recession. The nation experienced a rise in salaries (Lewis, 2006, p. 83) and a trickle-down effect to the working class of traditionally middle-class values, commodities and interests (ibid., p. 84). This convergence of social phenomena led Lane to believe that it was 'very important that books should be mass-produced if there is to be any meaning in liberty of opinion, and if knowledge is to be accessible to everyone' (ibid., p. 87). Lane objected to the view that 'the only people who could possibly want a cheap edition must belong to a lower order of intelligence' (ibid.). He resolved to determine a range of subjects and titles which would be desired by the wider, lay audience, and which could be made available for general purchase.

Without a literary background and having neither time nor, necessarily, inclination to read every potential publication (Morpurgo, 1979, p. 89, and Lewis, 2006, p. 226), Lane relied upon commercial instinct and contacts to guide his decisions. Thanks to his disposition – sociable and ebullient (Morpurgo, 1979, p. 46 and p. 52) – and his exposure during his six-year apprenticeship to all the various roles within The Bodley Head, Lane was not without literary connections and it was on these contacts

whom he would call for favours and advice in the early years.¹⁸ Lane is described as being a 'man of middle-brow tastes' (Feather, 2006, p. 176); operating on a small, low-budget scale and with no reading-committee infrastructure, he chose to 'publish books for people like himself' (ibid.). As Feather observes, 'The success of Penguin, as Lane knew, would depend on choosing the right books and making the right impact when the first titles were launched' (ibid.). Lane chose to print authors who were already known entities amongst their readership (Dorothy L. Sayers, Agatha Christie, Ernest Hemingway, André Maurois, to name but a few (ibid.)), who were proven to be relatively safe. The early Penguin publications were popular, therefore, rather than niche or academic choices.

The Second World War also represents a moment of serendipity in Lane's commercial trajectory from which Penguin emerged with enough resources and consumer reliability to enable it to experiment with the lists it could offer, including the Penguin Classics series. Based on the terms drawn up for paper rationing during the Second World War – that a publisher's wartime paper allocation be based on the tonnage of paper consumed in the period from September 1938 to August 1939 (Holman, 2008, p. 12) – Penguin found itself in a propitious position. During 1938-39 (ibid.), Penguin had enjoyed flourishing sales (in the tens of thousands) of Penguin Specials, described by Martin Yates as 'a successful and long-running series' (2006, p. 143). The books which featured in the first series of Penguin Specials in 1937 were 'mainly on contemporary political and social issues' (ibid.) and began with Mowrer's *Germany Puts the Clock Back*. It sold 50,000 copies in four days (ibid.). Successful pre-war Penguin Specials sales resulted in a wartime paper-allocation for Penguin which exceeded that of all other British publishers (with the exception of Collins).¹⁹ Penguin was therefore able to continue publishing Penguin Specials during the war (143 Specials in total before 1945 (Yates, 2006, p. 144)), as well as portable and affordable paperbacks.²⁰ Titles such as *Keeping Poultry and Rabbits on Scraps*; *Why Britain is at War*; *Aircraft Recognition*; *What Hitler Wants* were easily transferable to an air-raid

¹⁸ For example, Agatha Christie, who sub-leased titles to Penguin Books while already signed with Collins (Lewis, 2006, p. 34); and Lane's archaeologist friend and Christie's husband, Max Mallowan, who advised on Pelican's archaeology series (ibid.).

¹⁹ Holman includes a copy of the Board of Trade's figures for paper allocation at the start of the war. The top four publisher allocations are: 'Collins, 67,614 cwt.; Penguin, 41,430 cwt.; Hutchinsons, 36,550 cwt.; and Macmillan, 22,754 cwt' (2008, p. 255).

²⁰ Paperbacks cost 'no more each than a packet of cigarettes' (Lewis, 2006, p. 71).

shelter, enjoyable between work shifts, and informative for lay readers wishing to learn about the war. With the suspension of BBC televised broadcasting from 1 September 1939 until 7 June 1946, the civilian nation was persuaded by publisher advertising to seek alternative entertainment in a good book (Holman, 2008, p. 25). A nation of British servicemen and civilians emerged from the war, therefore, with a taste for book ownership, an eye for the trusted Penguin brand, and an interest in intellectual self-improvement (Rose, 2009, p. 348), and they continued to look to Penguin after the war to fulfil that desire.

In the new period of peace-time, Penguin capitalised on its wartime gains. Lane launched the Penguin Classics series in 1946 under Rieu's editorship and, by 1950, sixteen translations from Greek, French, Latin, Italian, Russian, Spanish and German classics had been published (Edwards, Hare, and Robinson, 2008, p. 127). Penguin's first American office had opened as early as July 1939 (Yates, 2006, p. 16) but, in 1946, Lane also launched Penguin Australia to boost their presence and market share overseas. Lane's domestic and overseas publishing infrastructure was now established.

The Importance of Design

Penguin's attention to design and brand – extending book desirability beyond the text itself – can also be considered a key contributing factor to Penguin's appeal and one which continues to generate interest.²¹ Lane channelled his energies into creating a brand of British paperback with a distinctive design, size, cover, font, and logo, a number on the spine (not just to signpost a book's position in a series but also to stoke the book-buyer's desire to own the whole series), and an affordable price which would appeal to and reach the broadest possible target readership in the UK literary field and then beyond. Lane's aspiration was not something new, however; one hundred years before, Bohn's Standard Library 'was described as a "series of the best English and foreign authors, printed in a new and elegant form, Equally adapted to the Library and the Fireside', at the extremely low price of 3s 6d. per volume"' (O'Sullivan, 2009, pp. 110-111). In 'The Paperback Revolution' (1974, pp. 286-318), Hans Schmoller (1916-1985)²² also maintains that, in his brainstorming for a new book product, Lane had a

²¹ Recent books include *Penguin by Design* (Baines, 2005), *Seven Hundred Penguins* (Penguin, 2007) as well as Penguin's merchandise sales; there are now boxes of book-design postcards; tote bags, cups, tea-towels, even wedding invitations, all bearing the distinctive bird and bands of colour on general sale.

²² German typographer and designer at Penguin before becoming head of production and then a director.

number of forerunners, both at home and abroad, from whom he could draw an amalgam of ideas on book production²³ and distribution.²⁴ One such forerunner was Albatross Books, launched in 1932 by Max Christian Wegner and John Holroyd-Reece (Tauchnitz Editions, 2010). Schmoller makes clear parallels between the outer, physical appearance of Albatross books (not just the avian name and logo) and Lane's Penguin publications:

For the first time different colours were used on the covers to signify major subject categories. The slim and elegant format was that adopted a few years later for Penguins and subsequently with slight variation for paperbacks everywhere. (1974, p. 293)²⁵

As McCleery (2002, p. 165) clarifies further, though, Lane's interest in Albatross went beyond physical design. Lane was directly involved in discussions in 1934 with the managing director of Albatross Verlag, Holroyd-Reece, with a view to co-publishing a 'Modern Library' in the UK. The line of books would emulate the English-language Albatross Books, which could only be sold on the Continent for copyright licensing reasons. The enterprise was ultimately dropped owing to copyright difficulties (*ibid.*), but the idea clearly never left Lane.

Credit for Penguin's recognisable book design, typography and layout goes to Jan Tschichold, identified by Lane in 1947 as 'the world's leading typographer' (Hare, 1995, pp. 74-75), and then from 1951, to Tschichold's successor Schmoller, who joined Penguin in 1949 and worked in 'a constant pursuit of perfection' (*ibid.*, p. 75) until his retirement in 1976. Between them, Tschichold and Schmoller founded the 'Penguin look' (Wilson, 1982, p. 106): simple, eye-catching covers boasting 'clean, decisive colour' and 'typographic patterns for their effect' (*ibid.*). In 'Reading with a Mission: The Public Sphere of Penguin Books' (2005), Rick Rylance notes that Lane insisted that 'Penguin's plain, colour-coded visual minimalism distinguished the quality paperback from dime-store trash, what he habitually called "breast-sellers"' (p. 59). In the 1950s, Tschichold's Penguin covers were a conscious rejection, 'as a matter of taste' (Williams, 1956, p. 26), of the lurid, pictorial covers generally associated with mass paperback sales in America

²³ Influences include: Aldus Manutius in 16th-century Venice; Richard Bentley in 17th-century England; Christian Bernard Tauchnitz's 1842 Tauchnitz Collection; Thomas Hodgson's Parlour Library in 1847; American Dime novels. See also 'Modernity and Print I: Britain 1890-1970' (Rose, 2009, p. 345).

²⁴ W.H. Smith opened the first railway bookstall at Euston in 1848 (Schmoller, 1974, p. 289).

²⁵ Schmoller may be right to make this observation for the twentieth century, but bookcover colour-codings existed in the nineteenth century; Bohn's 'Extra Volumes' series was distinguished from his Standard Library by a different coloured binding (O'Sullivan, 2010, p. 122).

and cheap, British re-prints (ibid.).²⁶ In *The Design of Books* (1982), Adrian Wilson acknowledges the paradoxical, commercially courageous rationale behind such a decision: ‘When every vivid paperback cover is outscreeching its neighbour, might not the greatest impact be made by the severely reticent?’ (p. 106).

At sixpence per paperback (the modern equivalent value would be approximately £1.50), Lane was obliged to produce print runs of at least 20,000 copies in order to make any margin (the break-even point being 17,500 (Rose, 2009, p. 345)). This was a sufficiently risky venture to have prevented his risk-averse, fellow publisher Victor Gollancz from continuing his own small paperback series, Mandamus, after 1931 (Feather, 2006, p. 175). In order to ensure the necessary scale of sales and distribution on such a high print run, Lane pursued conventional retail outlets (railway stations, as in the W.H. Smith model) but also unconventional outlets which distinguished Penguin from preceding publishers. These included chain stores, significantly Woolworth’s, where Lane’s first sizeable order was secured and so too Penguin’s survival in the first few weeks (ibid., p. 177). Lane also sold books through the ‘Penguincubator’ vending machine (see figure 1),²⁷ tobacconists, and in universities (Schmoller, 1974, p. 302).



Fig. 1. Allen Lane and the Penguincubator (Penguin Archive, Ref.: DM1294/2/9/3/1)

²⁶ According to Nicholas Joicey, ‘American paperbacks rapidly acquired a “trashy” image, as classics began to be sold with titillating quotes on the cover’ (1993, p. 30), whereas in Britain, ‘Sixpenny books came to symbolize the survival of a “worthwhile” culture in an age of mass production, [...] Penguin continued to publish in paperback the sort of contemporary literature which the Bodley Head might have produced in hardback’ (ibid.).

²⁷ According to *The Penguin Companion* (Yates, 2006), Lane introduced Penguincubators in 1937. The exact number of machines is unknown but modifications were required to make them more ‘knaveproof’ and ‘some were still in use in the 1950s’ (p. 112). However, it should be noted that book-vending machines had been in use by the German publisher Universal-Bibliothek in 1912 (McCleery, 2007, p. 4) and by Richard Carlile, in 1822, as a way of selling ‘seditious works’ with impunity (Geoghegan, 2013).

Lane's Editors and Readers

Like publishers who preceded him (Feather, 2006, p. 139), Lane needed a network of knowledge surrounding and supporting him. Within Penguin's own literature, Lane's 'orchestra of colleagues' has become part of the Penguin legend. Sir Robert Lusty, one-time managing director of Hutchinson (Yates, 2006, p. 86), referred to this collaboration of Penguin staff in a compilation of tributes to Lane on the occasion of his memorial service:

The story of Penguin has been a triumph of communication between this one man and a brilliant, if changing orchestra of colleagues which by some strange alchemy of inspiration has kept from the beginning in time and tune, with only occasional and short-lived discordances. ('Tributes', 18 August 1970, reproduced for Penguin Collectors' Society, 2002)

Lane recognised the need for expert advice after his first attempt to introduce Illustrated Classics, just one year before the outbreak of the Second World War, was a failure. The series, published in May 1938, consisted of ten titles, including Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (Yates, 2006, p. 72), Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* and Herman Melville's *Typee* (Lewis, 2006, p. 143). The failure of the series was attributed to a combination of factors including the 'outmoded refinement' of the wood-engraved illustrations, which Lane's former colleague Morpurgo describes as looking 'as if they had been prepared by tired disciples of the old John Lane school of book illustration' (1979, p. 143). The illustrations were deemed at odds with the 'bustling, youthful vigour of Penguin or the starkness of a world hurtling towards war' (ibid.) and were diminished by Penguin's use of 'indifferent paper' and a smaller format, 'too cramped to carry illustration' (ibid.). The series was swiftly discontinued (ibid.) and Lane subsequently sought opinions to ensure careful "publishable" decisions.

Feather writes that publishers *before* the nineteenth century 'reached their own decisions, perhaps with advice from literary friends, but more often on instinct and experience' (2006, p. 139). He notes the need, however, for a more coordinated, considered approach from the nineteenth century onwards:

Although publishers continued, as they still do, to commission much of their non-fiction from authors whom they already knew, publishers of imaginative literature cannot work in this way if they are to extend their lists. All publishers have to take risks; the function of the professional reader is to mitigate the risk by assessing both the literary and commercial value of the work. (Ibid.)

What Feather is alluding to here is the function of an advisory network to steer the corporate enterprise. Lane's personal priorities – which also transfer to the microcosm of the Penguin Classics series – influenced the publishing decisions of those agents and advisors he recruited to work for him: too niche a novel would have minimal appeal for a lay audience; too foreignised or academic a translation would be unsuited to the house's trademark image of accessibility; too dated a rendering would deter the potential youth readership; too costly a copy would eliminate the purchasing power of a large percentage of the target audience; and too ordinary a cover might dampen interest from the outset. The long-serving employees who bought into and fulfilled the Penguin vision with energy are the agents whose stability and experience helped to consolidate Penguin's success. These are people who accepted the corporate mission and gave their full expertise and dedication, like Rieu and Schmoller for example.²⁸

As a reaction to his own lack of formal higher education, Lane is reported to have felt uncomfortable in the company of his editors and advisors. By way of illustration, Morpurgo reflects in his book, *Allen Lane King Penguin*, on the promotion of former sales manager Ron Blass to the position of Lane's personal and professional confidant:

With Allen's help Blass had made himself unquestionably one of the book trade's experts on distribution, but he was not and never pretended to be an editor. This too made him a comfortable companion for Allen, always uneasy with editors who might be supercilious and patronizing about his inferior education and about what he thought to be his comparative inability to deal with literary small change. (1979, p. 312)

Lane was, however, astute enough to recognise his own limitations. Lane generally accepted the symbolic (academic and professional) capital represented by approved advisors and scholars,²⁹ those who could confidently select books for translation in the Penguin Classics series and assess, for example, the quality of a translator's work in a way that he would not have been able to do (see Chapter Three). He placed trust in Rieu's abilities as a translator and editor even though, as Mason notes in 'Molière among the Penguins' (2014), Rieu 'took a fairly cavalier attitude to the depth of a translator's first-hand knowledge of the source language or culture' (p. 127). As will be shown in

²⁸ Rieu worked with Lane from 1944 until 1964 (Penguin archive, Bristol); Schmoller, the head of production and then a director at Penguin, worked from 1949 to 1974 (Yates, 2006, p. 134).

²⁹ As identified earlier, Morpurgo believed it was particularly important for Lane to receive his honorary degrees (1979, p. 226). Newly-bestowed academic status provided Lane with an opportunity to close intellectual gaps between him and his agents and to achieve at least the semblance of an equal footing with editor-advisors. His difficult relationship with the erudite, self-taught A.S.B. Glover is perhaps the only exception, as I will show in Chapter Three.

Chapter Three, Rieu was himself reliant on Fen's knowledge in the early years of Penguin's Russian classics. With their academic accomplishments and literary experience, Penguin's editors formed a vital bridge between Lane and Penguin's external agents (for example, advisors, translators and critical readers). Based on archived correspondence for Penguin's Russian Classics, the Penguin Classics editors had to manage inquisitive, often concerned, academics from all over the world. Some academics penned letters of a lobbying nature for withdrawn works to be reinstated (*A Hero of Our Time*), and others sent letters of a censorious nature requesting detailed justifications for omissions (*Crime and Punishment* and *The Devils*),³⁰ and undeclared abridgements (*Sketches from a Hunter's Album*).³¹ Letters did not just come from academics; lay readers also shared their thoughts and book evaluations with Penguin too, often including praise at the range, presentation and price of titles included in Penguin's Russian Classics. Miss P. A. Ford from Blackpool, for example, wrote to Penguin in order to cite a printing error in her copy of *The Idiot*, but she concludes:

I write merely to ensure that the same mistake does not occur again should the book go for a further impression, and not for complaint. After all, who is going to complain about having great novels brought within reach of the average pocket? For that, I say many thanks. (19 April 1966, Ref.: DM1107/L54)

Similarly, Mr Richard D. Mical from Massachusetts wrote 'to congratulate Penguin Books and the person responsible for the very striking front cover photograph of the 1964 edition of Crime and Punishment. The purple and black tones with the photograph from Chenal's film is quite striking indeed' (19 November 1965, Ref.: DM1107/L23). Miss L. A. Atkins wrote from London to say that she was reading Magarshack's translation *The Devils*, but that 'My enjoyment of this book has been marred by the fact that, though the main translation is excellent one keeps tripping over phrases, not to say paragraphs in French' (29 December 1965, Ref.:DM1107/L35). Further, there are criticisms of the translations themselves, for example, from Miss Margaret Walsh in Leeds, who wrote to say that 'It is my duty [...] as a lover of poetry to express extreme dissatisfaction with the translation of the poetry of Yvegeni Yeshtuskenko [sic] by Robin Milner-Gulland + Peter Levi S.J.

³⁰ Letter from Mr Grant Wallace, Heywood High School, Victoria, 4 August 1978, regarding the omission of two lines from *Crime and Punishment*, perceived as crucial to the spiritual, redemptive understanding of the novel, concerning Lazarus (Ref.: DM1107/L23). Letter from Dr Edward D Sullivan from Princeton University, 28 December 1954, regarding the omission of Stavrogin's confession from *The Devils* (Ref.: DM1107/L35).

³¹ Letter from Prof. Irwin Weil, Dept. of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Northwestern University, 22 October 1974 (Ref.: DM1107/L186).

in your Penguin Edition' (29 December 1962, Ref.: DM1107/D69). She continues to criticise their 'clumsiness of style and the obvious lack of the poet [sic]' (ibid.). There are also expressions of disappointment regarding title translation: Mrs Joan Miller calls the title *Anna Karenin* an act of 'impudence and vandalism' by Rosemary Edmonds (5 July 1972, Ref.: DM1107/L41). Readers note typing and printing errors, and even the *over-readability* of translations for the benefit of the lay audience. Jerome Minot, for example, wrote on 25 January 1969 regarding Fen's translation of Chekhov's *Plays*, 'If your justification is that this sort of translation is necessary to "popularize" the work, then I can only say that it is impossible to prostitute literature, just so that it can be understood by people without literary knowledge' (Ref.: DM1107/L96). In nearly all cases,³² a courteous reply is sent to each correspondent, usually after contact has been made with the translator to verify the validity of a reader's query. The exception is Minot's letter, which in fact receives no reply, as will be seen in Chapter Three.

Though not necessarily sought by Penguin, the regular input from both academics and readers formed an informal quality assurance mechanism, notifying Penguin editors regularly about what was being done well and what was not. I would argue that these groups formed an unofficial but invaluable external advisory network of their own for Penguin, which eventually exercised some degree of influence over the formation of the Russian classics in the Penguin series. Take, for example, Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time*, which was first printed in 1966 but soon withdrawn as 'the sales did not justify a re-print' (letter from Classics Editor, Will Sulkin, 20 March 1974, Ref.: DM1107/L176). Paul Foote's translation was successfully reinstated after four years and five requests by different academics, from an initial enquiry in January 1971 through to D. Herring's letter of 06 January 1975, to which Penguin replied on 31 January 1975 that Foote's translation of *A Hero of Our Time* would be re-printed that very week (Ref.: DM1107/L176).³³

³² See letter from Sylvia Cookman to Miss Elisaveta Fen, 14 February 1969 (Ref. DM1107/L96).

³³ Letters from academics were received on: 14 January 1971; 1 December 1972, from the Dept. of German & Russian, University College of Wales; 07 March 1974, University of Nottingham, Dept. Slavonic Studies; 6 January 1975, from D. Herring on behalf of his students (Ref.: DM1107/L176).

Conclusion

The preceding analysis introduces the sociological turn and Bourdieu's observations of French publishing houses in relation to Penguin. It finds that, as a young, male, London-based, relatively poorly educated publisher, Lane skews Bourdieu's general characterisation of the elite publisher. Debt, which came with Lane's inheritance, drove his business decisions rather than a love of literature, and Lane's interest in selling quantity rather than quality sets him at odds with Bourdieu's evaluation of the field. By Bourdieu's definition, Lane would be regarded as a 'salesman with no scruples' (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 139), more aligned with the amateur-publisher, and yet Lane satisfies many aspects of Bourdieu's description of the 'ideal' publisher: a sharp speculator, risk-taker, and accountant (ibid., p. 138). Pym's argument is worth noting here that, whilst 'the area sampling is good enough to indicate what is going on' (2017, p. 2), Bourdieu's research is empirically restricted. Pym adds that 'without any serious attempt to justify the selection', Bourdieu's study falls short of the 'standards of solid sociology' (ibid.). Rather than offering conclusive outcomes, therefore, Bourdieu's extrapolations should be interpreted as helpful indicators of what is happening in the field of publishing.

Through my sociological and historical treatment of Lane's background and professional circumstances, I have demonstrated how an agent's habitus, capital, and position in the field can influence corporate policy. I attribute the trajectory and success of Lane's publishing career to the structural innovations which he implemented or facilitated at the right time for his literary environment, and which led to publishing norms shifting. I have identified these subversions and transformations as: the makeover of the British paperback's format, cost and distribution, and the creation of a new post-war generation of literary converts. Later, came the successful challenge to the British legal system over *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Lane had the pedigree to challenge structure³⁴ and moments of challenge and risk accompanied Lane through his career. As

³⁴ John Lane's Bodley Head published *The Yellow Book*, associated by colour with risqué French literature and by content with decadent and somewhat indecent cultural figures, Oscar Wilde and Aubrey Beardsley (Feather, 2006, p. 173). As already discussed, Lane junior pushed the boundaries as early as 1936 by successfully publishing with impunity the first British edition of James Joyce's *Ulysses* through The Bodley Head (ibid., p. 174). In 1947, he showed defiance once again, declaring in a letter to Robert Graves, translator of *Golden Ass*, that he was 'not at all apprehensive' (Hare, 1995, p. 197) about the possibility of an obscenity charge being brought against the publication of Graves's translation (Crowe, 2012, p. 199). Whilst recognising that a Latin rendering of the risky passages should appease the censor, Lane's preference was to assess the

Bourdieu observes, 'the more autonomous the field becomes, the more favourable the symbolic power balance is to the most autonomous producers' (1993, p. 39), a fitting description for Penguin.

The extent to which Lane acquired experience in the field; spotted and seized opportunities; interpreted the needs of his company and of the nation; and built his capital (economic and symbolic) and that of his agents, suggests a man in touch with the possibilities presented by that era. Feather endorses this evaluation:

Allen Lane's idea was not only profoundly influential, it was also, as it turned out, very timely. Just four years elapsed between the foundation of Penguin Books and the outbreak of World War II. That war and its aftermath wrought profound changes on the trade; these changes were to bring about the abandonment of many cherished customs, and to take the publishing industry into a new and harsher world. (2006, p. 180)

By drawing on sociological and historical/archival models in this chapter – a framework which will continue to be applied throughout this thesis and will also include a textual model later – I have analysed factors which contributed to Penguin's literary breakthrough and which subsequently paved the way for the Penguin Classics series. I have argued in this chapter that flair and commercial instinct are significant factors to a publisher's success and that, contrary to Bourdieu's belief, even literary expertise may be regarded as non-essential to establishing publishing success. Lane's impact relied on a combination of his own entrepreneurial skill and instinct for recognising new opportunities (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 183), and the skill of his supporting agents. Through collaboration, they were able to modernise publishing methods and form readership habits to suit the twentieth century.

same passages in English first. Lane's assessment resulted in an unexpurgated edition being published in April 1950 and a deluxe, signed, hardback follow-up edition being published in 1951 (Hare, 1995, pp. 199-200); bans were imposed in Ireland and Australia, but the translation enjoyed uninterrupted sales in Britain (*ibid.*, p. 200).

Chapter Two: Power Dynamics in the Translation of Russian Literature before Penguin

Introduction

Through my analysis in this chapter of the pre-Penguin period of Russian literature in translation, the full extent of Penguin's twentieth-century achievements can be better understood and appreciated. This chapter employs an historical approach in order to examine the impact of a prevailing mood of Russophobia – stemming from mistrust and political and military discord prior to and during the nineteenth century – on the handling of Russian texts by agents in the field. I explore the implementation of the Forster Education Act as a social phenomenon which not only forged a new readership and encouraged publishers to re-examine their market strategy, but also ultimately changed the way in which foreign language (especially Russian) texts came to be regarded. This chapter then combines historical and sociological approaches in an analysis of early patrons – such as Jeremy Bentham and Edward Cazalet who stand out as actively promoting pro-Russian sentiment against a Russophobic backdrop – and examines themes of patronage and power in Heinemann's professional relationship with Garnett. By reading Heinemann's letters (*The Hardships of Publishing* (1893)) against Garnett's notes, diary entries and letters³⁵ it becomes possible for the first time, to my knowledge, to scrutinise the power dynamics which influenced publisher-translator relations in the period which immediately precedes the birth of Penguin.

The Transnational Circulation of Texts

If the transfer of a literary canon, in this case Russia's classic literature to the UK, is an example of the 'internationalization of intellectual life' (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 220), then this chapter must act on Bourdieu's own advice to examine the intellectual conditions (social, historical, political and cultural) and processes behind such a transfer. Bourdieu argues that the motivations behind the transnational circulation of texts ('Who are the discoverers, and what interest do they have in discovering these things?' (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 222)) urgently merit 'further research, for both scientific and practical reasons, particularly as our aim is to facilitate and improve communication between different

³⁵ As collated in her grandson Richard Garnett's biography, *Constance Garnett - A Heroic Life* (2009).

countries' (ibid.). Sharon Deane-Cox argues that there are 'struggles over economic and symbolic capital and legitimization' which link the British literary field and 'its interaction with the source literary field' and have an impact on the 'hows and whens of (re)translation' (2014, p. 34). In specific terms, 'struggles' may take the form of intellectual obstacles – prejudice, stereotypes, ulterior motives and misunderstandings – and when they arise during the internationalisation of a literary canon, these may determine the extent to which a literature is endorsed by a host nation, with Russian literature being no exception. In 'Outline for a Sociology of Translation', Heilbron and Sapiro analyse the sociological approach to 'the transnational circulation of cultural goods' (2007, p. 95). Here, they itemise three conditions which affect the movement of literature from a home nation to a host nation and I will demonstrate in this chapter that the application of these conditions informs my own analysis of Russian literature in the UK:

[...] firstly, the structure of the field of international cultural exchanges; secondly the type of constraints – political and economic – that influence these exchanges; and thirdly, the agents of intermediation and the processes of importing and receiving in the recipient country (ibid.)

A text which has already achieved consecration in its own country may arrive in a new field without any such status, without the benefit of any preparatory 'international cultural exchanges' and, at most, with only a hint of an accompanying reputation or with a different reputation. According to Bourdieu:

The fact that texts circulate without their context, that [...] they don't bring with them the field of production of which they are a product, and the fact that the recipients [...] re-interpret the texts in accordance with the structure of the field of reception, are facts that generate some formidable misunderstandings and that can have good or bad consequences. (1999, p. 221)

If 'texts circulate without their context', then the relative anonymity which accompanies such texts can be a mixed blessing, resulting either in a positive or negative reception in the new host culture.³⁶ The absence of a canonical reputation to influence reader opinion liberates an imported text, leaving the readership potentially greater latitude to make up its own mind about the text's merits. In cultural isolation, however, a text may become vulnerable to critical negativity and manipulation 'because contemporaries are

³⁶ Rachel May refers to an existing atmosphere of disinterest (at best), but more usually historical negativity towards Russia which has influenced the reception of new literary arrivals in the UK from the earliest stage of infiltration irrespective of the status a text might enjoy at home. She writes that 'During periods of russophobia in the 1820s and 1830s, and again during the Crimean war and the cold war, Russian literature has been either ignored or treated as a tool for demonstrating the evils of Russian society, and translations have served less-than-literary purposes' (1994, p. 12).

competitors and often have a hidden interest in not understanding, or even in preventing understanding from taking place in others' (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 221). Bourdieu cites the example of a nation's contrived introduction of 'a foreign thinker to attack domestic thinkers' (ibid., p. 223), in the same way that France imported Heidegger as a way of 'diminish[ing] Sartre's impact' on France's intellectual field (ibid.). Bourdieu's statement, however, does not take into account that, in the absence of context, a text circulates with the addition of target-nation paratext, be it in the form of a title (Genette, 1987, p. 263), preface, notes (end/foot), epilogue or afterword within a book, cover images, and external references via interviews, reviews, and advertisements (Pellatt, 2013, p. 2). Gérard Genette argues that '[...] one can probably suggest that there does not exist, and there never has existed, a text without paratext' (1987, p. 263). The presence of paratextual information represents an opportunity for the host nation (usually for the publisher (ibid., p. 266)) to situate a translated text in a new literary field, to anticipate the nature of its reception. In the absence of an obvious national context, the paratext builds the relationship between the target readership and the source culture, constructing and guiding or, more precisely for the early phase of Russian literature in translation, managing and manipulating 'the reader's horizons of expectations' (Summers, 2013, p.15). In order to deduce the rationale behind a decision to translate and publish a text, it is essential, therefore, to consider both the context and the paratext, and to analyse where possible the social, cultural and political motivations behind a commission.

Historical context influences a nation's modern reception of literature in translation. Russian literature began to be translated in North America, for example, in the 1870s, earlier than the UK, producing 'three times as many American as British translations, and their quality was generally superior as well' (May, 1994, p. 17). America's long familiarity with superior translations may explain the 1968 issue of the American journal *Arion*, entitled 'Penguin Classics: A Report on Two Decades', in which D.S. Carne-Ross criticises the Penguin Classics series generally for producing translations which are 'at best mediocre, some very bad indeed' (p. 397). Carne-Ross especially criticises Philip Vellacott's translations of works by Aeschylus (1956, 1961) and Euripides (1954, 1963), and E.F. Watling's translations of works by Sophocles (1947, 1953). There are numerous letters in the Penguin archive from US readers expressing their various concerns about Penguin's approach to its classic Russian

translations: uncertainty about the British renderings of the Russian classics³⁷ and perplexity about abridgements to the original texts.³⁸ There is a sense that the US readership approached Penguin's Russian translations with a different literary expectation from their UK counterparts, as will also be shown in Chapter Five with regard to Magarshack's translation of *The Idiot*. From the early 1960s, therefore, The New American Library, formerly Penguin Books, Inc., published their own US-oriented translations of Dostoevskii's works by University of Virginia professor Andrew R. MacAndrew.

These are the sorts of ambient considerations which shape my own account of Russian literature in British translation. In analysing the British historical context, however, I have specifically kept in the foreground Bourdieu's appropriate statement that 'anyone, no matter how well intentioned, who appropriates an author for him or herself and becomes the person who introduces that author to another country inevitably has some ulterior motive' (1996, p. 222).

The Pre-Penguin Climate of Anglo-Russian Relations

Anglo-Russian trade relations stretch back as far as Richard Chancellor's links to Ivan IV's court in 1553 (Yakobson, 1935, p. 598), which means, therefore, that by the nineteenth century, the UK had long been aware of Russia's existence and, courtesy of those early sea-merchants, had been garnering opinions of the country and its people from as early as the sixteenth century. Diaries and accounts dating back to these early forays frequently offer negative differences between the nations. Gilbert Phelps cites an early British view of the Russians:

The vilification of Russia and things Russian began almost from the moment that commercial and political contact was made. Thus Anthony Jenkinson (*The First Voyage by Master Anthony Jenkinson ... toward the land of Russia in the yeare 1557*) described the Russian people as 'great talkers, and lyers, without any faith or truth in their words, flatterers and dissemblers'. (1958, p. 418)

The British portrayal of Anglo-Russian political developments between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, but particularly during the nineteenth century, did little to reform comments like Jenkinson's, and much to cement Russophobic views. In his book

³⁷ See letter from Richard D. Mical, Massachusetts, 19 November 1965 (Ref.: DM1107/L23), regarding Magarshack's translation of *Crime and Punishment* 'intended for an English (i.e. British) audience'.

³⁸ See the enquiry sent by Dr Edward D. Sullivan at Princeton regarding Magarshack's omission from *The Devils* of 'the crucial chapter "At Tihon's" which the Modern Library at least includes as an appendix' (28 December 1954, Ref.: DM1107/L35).

Rosa Newmarch and Russian Music (2009), Philip Bullock's (aptly named) chapter "The Invention of Russia" identifies Britain's historical perception of Russia and defines the different ways – cultural and political – in which such a perception, such an *invention*, came into being. Bullock, who has traced and documented historical events regarding the reception of Russian culture in the UK and whose evaluations have helped inform this chapter, describes the British attitude towards Russia as one with 'a ready tradition of native Russophobia' (2009, p. 24). Bullock argues that, historically, the British public has mostly adopted a negative view of Russia, the most notable exceptions being, for example, during Catherine the Great's reign when Britain and Russia were perceived as natural allies (Anderson, 1956, p. 408) and again towards the end of the Napoleonic war (Anderson, 1956, p. 414) when Britain extended its support for Alexander I.

Animosity, therefore, best describes Britain's overriding sentiment towards the Russians, reaching spikes in public opinion at key political moments during the nineteenth century. From the end of the eighteenth century (Fromkin, 1980, p. 936) and throughout the nineteenth century, the Great Game influenced Britain's perception of Russia, prompting the fear that Russia's expansion into Central Asia would not only threaten but destroy the British Empire's sphere of commercial influence in India and Islamic Asia (*ibid.*). Whilst the Great Game sustained a stable level of British animosity towards the Russians, there were also isolated instances in the same century which generated ill-feeling too. These include the crushing by the Russians of the Polish rebellion in 1830-31 (Swift, 2007, p. 243), which led Tennyson to describe the Russians as the 'overgrown Barbarian in the East' (Bullock, 2009, p. 25), and the onset of the Crimean war in 1853.

In cultural terms, therefore, given the generally poor climate of Anglo-Russian relations, the UK readership would require a change of mood and mind-set before it might feel inclined to embrace the Russian literary canon. Help in bringing about this change came over a sustained period of time, from various quarters, and through a succession of largely individual social agents, catalysts rather than complex collaborations. According to May (1994, p. 12), 'popularizers' of Russian culture emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Anthony Cross (2013, p. 6) writes that with the cultural 'explosion' which took place during Catherine's reign, the last decades of the eighteenth century saw the start of change. 'Popularizers' include the Cambridge don, Reverend William Coxe, who published a commentary (which ran to

six editions) on Russia's cultural and scientific development (1803); the Petersburg-based British chaplain, historian and translator of Russian poetry, Reverend William Tooke, who documented Russia's progress in science and the arts (1798); and Sir John Bowring, whose literary contributions will be explored in greater depth in this chapter. Bullock credits 'specialists and enthusiasts' (2009, p. 20) with bringing their 'accidents of friendship and circumstance, individual taste and ideologies' (ibid.) to the cause of integrating Russian culture in the UK. External factors rooted in social change also played a role in leading the English towards Russian literature in translation, for example: the introduction of the Forster Education Act in 1870, which brought literature to the masses (Feather, 2006, p. 115-116); Victorian ennui towards the predictability of English literature and a rejection of French Naturalist literature (Rubenstein, 1972, p. 196); and the realisation that Russian was not a commonly known language, unlike French and German, and reading habits would, therefore, have to change. Readers would either have to add Russian to their list of languages to master, or accept that the time had come to read translations instead of originals (Blume, 2011, p. 324).

For the majority of readers wishing to access Russian literature, elite multilingualism gave way to a new brand of translation-reliant readership (Blume, 2011, p. 328). Rubenstein evokes the relevance and ensuing effect of this shift in her essay 'Virginia Woolf and the Russian Point of View' (1972). She notes reader dependency on these translations, but also identifies, as does Bullock (2009, p. 19), a national inability to check the quality of these translations. Rubenstein argues that, 'Some of the cult-like adulation given the Russian writers (Tolstoy, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Chekhov) can be attributed to the difficulty of fairly appraising a literature in translation' (1972, p.197), a reference to the lack of Russian linguists able, at that time, to critique a translation against the original. She quotes Woolf who, writing in 1925, and based on her experience of collaborative translation with S. S. Kotelianskii, appraises the maltreatment of Russian literature in translation and hints at the way in which new literature may be misrepresented when handled by agents in the receiving culture:

We have judged a whole literature stripped of its style. When you have changed every word in a sentence from Russian to English, have thereby altered the sense a little, the sound, weight, and accent of the words [...], nothing remains except a crude and coarsened version of the sense ... What remains is, as the English have proved by the fanaticism of their admiration, something very

powerful and very impressive, but it is difficult to feel sure, in view of these mutilations, how far we can trust ourselves not to impute, to distort, to read into them an emphasis which is false. (Ibid.)

Once the British readership realised and accepted that Russian literature could be read in translation, its readiness to receive Russia's literary canon momentarily outpaced changes required within the literary field. This new interest created a reactive rather than proactive moment in the production of literary translations, a need to satisfy reader interest, but with an insufficiency of specially trained people and quality checks in place to do so. Whilst there were some social agents (Coxe, Tooke, and Bowring (May, 2000, p.1205)), there were not many whose combination of habitus, language skills, and social trajectories lent themselves to undertaking the task successfully of translating Russian literature into English.

Russia's burgeoning literary canon started arriving in the West³⁹ from the mid-nineteenth century: Gogol's Short Stories and *Revizor* were translated into French in 1845 and 1853 respectively; Pushkin's *Pikovaya dama* and *Kapitanskaya doch'* were translated into French first in 1849 and 1853 respectively; Turgenev's *Zapiski okhotnika* appeared in English from a French version in 1855, edited by J. D. Meiklejohn; Dostoevskii's *Prestuplenie i nakazanie* and *Bratya karamazovy* were translated into German first in 1882 and 1884 respectively; and Tolstoi's *Voina i mir* was translated from the French into English in 1886 by Clara Bell. In the absence of Russian-English translators, therefore, texts were frequently translated into English from German or French versions. This way of circumventing the language barrier – known broadly as 'indirect translation', 'ITr', (Rosa, Pięta, and Bueno Maia, 2017) but also (with fine distinctions) as 'pivot', 'relay(ed)', and 'second-hand' translation (Shuttleworth and Cowie, 2014, p. 76) – was commonplace and regarded as standard practice across Europe. Second-hand translation became a feasible solution for accessing otherwise inaccessible language groups, which is how Russian was perceived in the UK. Not all scholars endorse this solution, however. The solution is now widely considered to be 'a bad practice', to use Peter France's words (2000, p. 587). Nevertheless, once under way, the translation of Russian literature directly from Russian into English 'was achieved in a remarkably short period of time: almost the entire body of nineteenth-century prose

³⁹ As Phelps notes, the first translations, in the eighteenth century, were religious rather than literary (1958, p. 423).

was translated in the space of forty years, between roughly 1885-1925' (Beasley and Bullock, 2011, pp. 283-4).

The acknowledgement that Russia had a creditworthy literary canon proved a significant realisation in Anglo-Russian cultural relations, one which Donald Davie famously describes in elevated terms in "‘Mr Tolstoy I presume?’ The Russian Novel through Victorian Spectacles' (1990). His sentiments echo those already expressed by D.H. Lawrence, Rebecca West and Arnold Bennett before him (Beasley and Bullock, 2011, p. 284) and allude to the cultural phenomenon known subsequently as the Russian craze:

[...] the awakening of the Anglo-Saxon people to Russian literature – something which happened, to all intents and purposes between 1885 and 1920 – should rank as a turning-point no less momentous than the discovery of Italian literature by the generations of the English Renaissance. (Davie, 1990, p. 276)

The reality, though, of the UK's assimilation of nineteenth-century Russian culture, including literature, is observed more objectively and judiciously by Bullock:

Because Russia was geographically remote, its language known to only a handful of the most dedicated linguists, its culture and history unfamiliar, and its character disputed even by its own inhabitants, familiarity with Russia in England was always going to be the province of a particularly select group of specialists and enthusiasts. (2009, p. 20)

The eventual consecration of Russian culture and literature was dependent therefore on specialist agents: skilled, dedicated, and usually more knowledgeable on Russian matters, even if only marginally, than the rest of the field, and not always home grown. Bullock, for example, also identifies the role played by Russian émigrés arriving in London who were 'able to take advantage of the dearth of trained Russian speakers in England at the time to advocate a socially critical reading of Russian realist prose' (2009, p. 24). The following agents played significant roles in the reception of Russian literature in English translation: John Bowring, the early advocate and translator of Russian poetry and his patron, Jeremy Bentham; the continentally acceptable and accessible Russian novelist Ivan Turgenev; the founder of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society, Edward Cazalet; the publishers Henry Vizetelly and William Heinemann; and finally, Constance Garnett, the 'woman of Victorian energies and Edwardian prose' (Remnick, 2005). These agent-enthusiasts have been singled out for their contributions to preparing the ground, introducing the British to the positive notion of Russian culture.

Bowring and Bentham: A Translator-Patron Partnership

The first of these early literary advocates were John Bowring (1792-1872) and his patron, the philosopher, jurist and legal reformer Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). Bowring is described as having had a good working knowledge of a number of European languages, a 'book-knowledge' of Russian, a skill for transferring foreign thought and feeling in his poetry translations (Sova, 1943, p. 128). Bowring produced the first part of his translated compilation, *Specimens of Russian Poetry* (1821) after a business trip to Russia in 1821, covering works by poets such as Derzhavin, Lomonosov, Karamzin, Batiushkov and others (Sova, 1943, p. 130). He completed the second volume while imprisoned for six weeks in Boulogne in 1822 (Sova, 1943, p. 128). For both volumes, Bowring based his translations on literal English translations or sketchy German translations which he had acquired from Friedrich Adelung, tutor to the Grand Dukes, while in St Petersburg (Coleman, 1941, p. 435). In return for Adelung's translation assistance, Bowring sent works by his patron, Jeremy Bentham, to whom Bowring had been introduced in 1820, the same year that Bowring had returned from a trip to Russia full of excitement about the 'springtime of the Slavs' (ibid., p. 433). Bowring's career as a translator and commentator on Russian and Slavic poetry hinged on his relationship with Bentham.⁴⁰ Bentham's views on British legal reform, his positive relations with Russia and his own, pro-Russia patron Lord Lansdowne (previously the Earl of Shelburne) set him at odds with William Pitt, with Britain's foreign policy (Conway, 1987, p. 799) and with general political opinion towards Russia at the time (de Champs, 2011, p. 243). But it was Bentham's pro-Russian sentiment and even his personal experience of supplementing his income through translation earlier in his career (ibid., pp. 239-40) that brought him and Bowring closer together.

From a desire to endorse Bentham's Utilitarian philosophy to do 'the greatest possible good' by 'the greatest number of people' (Coleman, 1941, p. 431), Bowring embarked on his first volume of *Specimens of the Russian Poets* (1821) (May, 2000, p. 1205). Though praised in *The Edinburgh Review* (January 1831) for his efforts to open readers' minds to the possibility of there being some value in reading Russian poetry, Bowring received his share of 'quips and sallies from his countrymen' (Coleman, 1941,

⁴⁰ Bentham too had travelled to Russia spending twenty months living in the Crimean village, Zadobrast (Rosen, 2014).

p. 431), the most serious of which came twenty years later when Bowring's knowledge of Russian was exposed as sketchy and flawed by Victor Smirnov, Secretary in the Russian Embassy and fluent in Russian and English (ibid., p. 435). Observing in his thesis that, 'There are no letters from Bowring to the Slavs in languages other than English, French and German' (Naughton, 1978, p. 16), James Naughton concludes that, 'Bowring's Slavonic studies were very superficial' (ibid.).

Bowring declares in his *Specimens of the Russian Poets* that Russia had recently 'emerged, as it were instantaneously, from a night of ignorance, to occupy a situation in the world of intellect' (1821, p. vii), which suggests, by association, that Bowring wished to be viewed as something of a literary pioneer, happy to invest his meagre linguistic and literary capital in the task of translation. Such a view also features in the summary of his achievement in *The Edinburgh Review*:

He has thrown as it were the first plank over the gulf which separated two nations, – has taught them that they have feelings, 'eyes, organs,' [sic] dimensions, affections, passions,' – in common, has awakened a spirit of literary enterprise, and pointed out, if he cannot guide us through, the promised land. (1831, p. 323)

However, Bowring's success is more likely to do with Bentham's patronage and economic capital.⁴¹ Whilst there are other early British translators of Russian literature – for example, W.R. Morfill (1834-1909),⁴² and W.R.S. Ralston (1828-1889),⁴³ whose *raison d'être* were, likewise, to present a favourable view of Russia and Russian literature to the British – Bowring and Bentham are the earliest example for Russian of a nineteenth-century translator-agent and patron jointly challenging existing views in the literary (and political) field and utilising their combined capital (symbolic, financial and political) to bring about change. Naughton, who focuses on Czech literature in translation, contrasts Bowring's limited linguistic dexterity with the superior scholarly and linguistic competence of his contemporary, the English school headteacher Rev. Albert Wratishaw. Wratishaw, by contrast, though, lacked an instrumental patron figure like Bentham, and 'remained more or less unknown in both countries' (1978, p. 8).

⁴¹ Bowring became Bentham's secretary and, because of his breadth of foreign friendships, was appointed Editor of Bentham's journal, *The Westminster Review* (Coleman, 1941, p. 439).

⁴² Translator of Pushkin, first Professor of Russian in the UK (Oxford, 1900), and described by his biographer, Stone, as 'believing that the account of the Slavs fed to the British public was tainted by German prejudice' (Stone, 2004). See: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35099>> [Accessed 10 October 2016].

⁴³ Translator of *Krilof and his Fables* (1869), *Russian Folk Tales* (1873) and *Liza* (1869). According to Waddington's (2007) biography, 'Ralston saw his vocation as tilting at British ignorance about Russia.' See: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23062>> [Accessed 10 October 2016]. For other examples, see E.M. Curran "'The Foreign Quarterly Review" on Russian and Polish Literature' (1961).

Bowring appears to have been a sincere advocate of Bentham's political and philosophical views, but given that he was Bentham's protégé (Hoogensen, 2001, p. 1), there would also have been professional gain from sharing the same views. Additional approval came from Russia itself, from Tsar Alexander I, who gave Bowring a diamond ring and an amethyst (Naughton, 1978, p. 14) in recognition of his act of service in translating Russian literature. Considering the political, and general, hostility reserved for Russia by the British, the generally positive response which Bowring's translations received can be regarded as the first tentative steps towards consecration. Bowring and Bentham combined their ideas, position and capital to such an extent that they may both justifiably be called 'discoverers', to use Bourdieu's term (2008, p. 136). Theirs is the 'work of conversion' in the established field but, as Bourdieu points out, 'Like all such work, this takes a great deal of time' (ibid.).

Turgenev and Lach-Szyrma: Russian Literature in a Time of War

The Crimean War (1853-1856) caused a spike in British antipathy towards the Russians in the nineteenth century and political sentiments were depicted in evocative cartoons published in popular journals such as *Punch*. The image below, figure 2, and its caption refer to the so-called Hango Massacre by Russians on 6 June 1855 of a British truce-seeking party (Spielmann, 2007, p. 119). The artist John Leech captured the national mood of contempt for Russia's military underhandedness.

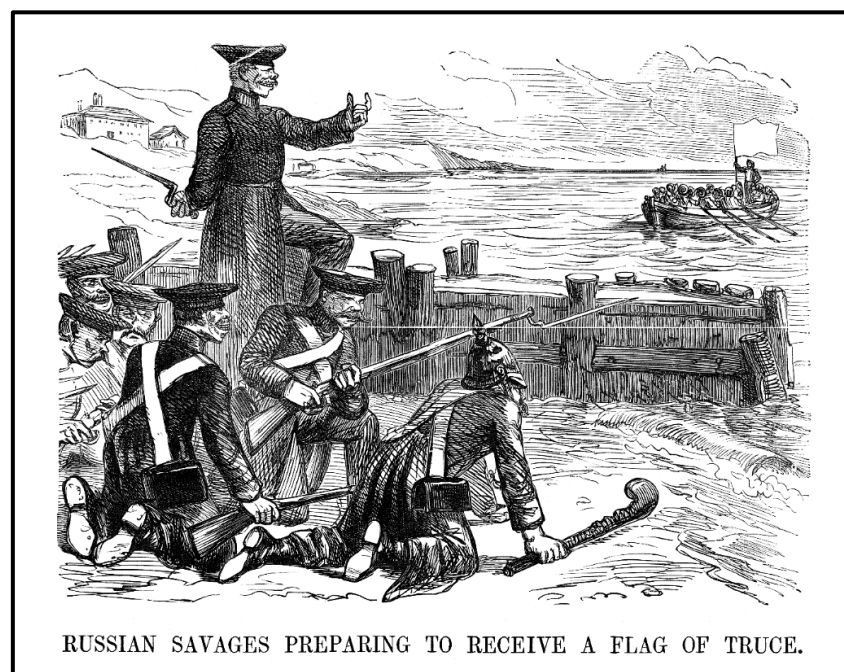


Fig. 2. Leech, 30 June 1855, Punch Archive

In *Bram Stoker and Russophobia*, Jimmie E. Cain argues that journalists had been consciously stoking anti-Russian sentiment as early as twenty years prior to the Crimean War (2006, p. 20), but with the onset of the war 'Viscount Palmerston, lord of the admiralty, used the press to whip-up anti-Russian feelings and to portray the impending war with Russia "as a struggle for democracy against tyranny"' (ibid., p. 21). Cain makes a direct correlation between the prevalence of cartoons such as those published in *Punch* and a worsening in public feeling towards Russia over Crimea. However, even in spite of the anti-Russian stance adopted by the British press, there arose an unexpected, dichotomous outcome of Britain's direct involvement in the Crimean War. The British became interested in finding out more about the enemy (France, 2006, p. 311) and it was around this time that the Victorians discovered Turgenev.

Turgenev visited Russia only occasionally by this stage in his life (Moss, 2012, p. 129) and had opted instead to live on the Continent. Turgenev's literature came to be regarded by the Victorians as almost English in style, and a comfortable bridge therefore between Britain and Russia. His *Zapiski okhotnika* was first rendered into English by James D. Meiklejohn (from a French translation) in 1855 under the realistic, pseudo-documentary title of *Russian Life in the Interior or Experiences of a Sportsman*, published by Messrs Adam & Charles Black in Edinburgh. A review of Meiklejohn's translation appeared in *The Spectator* in 1855. On the subject of Russian authorship, the reviewer wrote:

[...] there appears to be more generic resemblance to the country life, character, and occurrences of Western Europe some century or two ago, than might at first he [sic] supposed. There is of course less independence or robustness of character than in Britain, but probably not much less than might then be found in the petty *seigneur* of France or the small gentleman of Germany. (p. 31)

Turgenev's novel, or at least the translation, was recognised as having an accessibly continental flavour, recreated later in W.R.S. Ralston's 1859 translation of *Dvoryanskoe gnezdo, A Nest of Gentlefolk* (France, 2000, p. 587). Henry James expressed this same view in his essay 'Ivan Turgénieff (1818-1883)' (1897), in which he influentially argues in favour of Turgenev as the ideal foreign novelist to suit English tastes. Refined and cultured (in other words, not a Russian 'barbarian' (Bullock, 2009, p. 25)), and reminiscent of his friend Flaubert, Turgenev was regarded as more respectable than the 'realistic' Zola:

There is perhaps no novelist of alien race who more naturally than Ivan Turgénieff inherits a niche in a Library for English readers; and this is not because of any advance or concession that in his peculiar artistic independence he ever made, or could dream of making, to such readers, but because it was one of the effects of his peculiar genius to give him, even in his lifetime, a special place in the regard of foreign publics. His position is in this respect singular; for it is his Russian savor that as much as anything has helped generally to domesticate him. (James in Davie, 1990, p. 47)

The interest in a factual portrayal of Russia was not limited only to Turgenev's works and nor was Turgenev the only Russian writer to have a book title consciously translated on one level for the interest of the audience and on another level, to serve the political bias of the day (May, 1994, p. 14). When Lermontov and Gogol first appeared in translation in the UK, their debut works were given deliberately misleading or, as Bullock refers to them, 'pseudo-ethnographic' (2009, p. 21) titles suggesting to the uninitiated British readership that these works were factual recountings of life in Russia rather than literary creations.⁴⁴ The political climate encouraged translators to play to the British public's historical, anti-Russian sentiment and translations became vehicles for propagandistic purposes. What we now know as Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time* first appeared in 1853 as *Sketches of Russian Life in the Caucasus*, a title that, from the outset, misleadingly suggests a non-fiction account of life in southern Russia. The careful choice of cover image also endorses the impression of factuality and lends a paratextual value which conforms to Genette's description of 'iconic' messaging (1987, p. 265). Lermontov was described on the cover page as 'a Russe many years resident amongst the various tribes' and the translator remained anonymous. (See figure 3)

⁴⁴ By the time Penguin emerges in the twentieth century, similar adjustments are also being made but for economic and stylistic, rather than overtly political reasons. Nevertheless, readership emotions still run high over textual misrepresentations. The Penguin edition of Turgenev's *Sketches from a Hunter's Album* is abridged for reasons of word count. Having ordered 150 copies for use in his department, Prof. Irwin Weil from Northwestern University declares that 'such a publishing procedure is perilously close to intentional fraud' (22 October 1974, Ref.: DM1107/L186). There is also considerable discussion at Penguin over which title to use, the faithful rendering of *A Sportsman's Notebook* being deemed too off-putting to the reader (see correspondence between editor James Cochrane and translator Richard Freeborn, 12 June and 5 July 1964, Ref.: DM1107/L186). By contrast, *Fathers and Sons* remained the title of Turgenev's novel, *Otsy i deti*, even though the initial translator, Gilbert Gardiner, noted, as did some readers, that *Fathers and Children* would have been more accurate. Gardiner's translation was never used and Rosemary Edmonds was commissioned instead, keeping the slightly inaccurate title (Ref.: DM1107/L147).

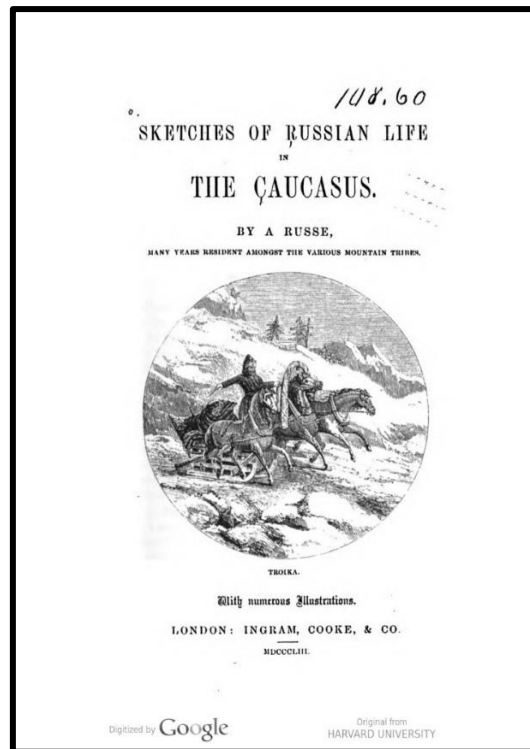


Fig. 3. Title Page of Ingram, Cooke & Co.'s 1853 version of *A Hero of our Time, Geroi nashego vremeni* (HathiTrust)

In the same way, the first English translation of Gogol's *Dead Souls*, which arrived in Britain one year into the Crimean War in 1854, was inaccurately entitled *Home Life in Russia by a Russian Noble*. This translation was the work of Krystyn Lach-Szyrma, a Polish count, writer, journalist, translator and political activist based in England. Lach-Szyrma's anti-Russian bias permeates his rendering of the source text. Again, the original author remains anonymous and, according to the editor, the author's story reveals 'the internal circumstances and relations of Russian society' and states that the 'Napoleonic dictum, "*grattez le Russe, et vous trouverez le Tartare*" is [...] most fully verified' (1854, p. ii). Whether the publishers Hurst and Blackett themselves wrote the editor's introduction or allowed Lach-Szyrma to pen it remains a mystery, but the carefully crafted paratextual intervention leaves the reader in no doubt about Britain's position in Europe's bellicose landscape. The editor concludes by stating that this realistic account of Russia adds 'one more to our scanty list of books which throw light upon the domestic life of our "ancient allies" and present foes' (ibid., p. iv). The agents are transparent in their politicised *skopos* and, even before embarking on reading the novel, the reader is primed, manipulated, about the way in which Russia should be regarded.

The translation itself supports the editor's introductory comments: positive images of Russian life are frequently omitted, leaving any existing negative images to stand in high relief. The story's content is grossly distorted, not least of all with Chichikov's murder by an Imperial messenger (ibid., p. 341) as a conclusion to the story, and domestications intrude on the text destroying the *illusio* of the original.⁴⁵ There is plenty of scope for digression and invention and Lach-Szyrma uses a garrulous and anecdotal (expressly non-Turgenevian) narrative style, made popular already by authors like Sterne, and subsequently adopted by Pushkin in the nineteenth century. Lach-Szyrma's fictitious, self-crafted digressions drive the text. He frequently talks over the top of Gogol's already highly loquacious narrator and uses the opportunity to provide his own inappropriate reminders of the critical state of Anglo-Russian relations:

As for ourselves, if any blame should be cast upon us for bringing such uncomely characters before the British public, especially at this present critical moment when a war with Russia is being carried on, we can only express our regret, but our conscience forbids us to represent our countrymen in any other than the real light. (Ibid., p. 102-103)

Lach-Szyrma's interest is not in consecrating great literature, therefore; he is more concerned with disseminating timely anti-Russian rhetoric to a receptive target audience. As Carl Lefevre observes memorably in 'Gogol and Anglo-Russian Literary Relations during the Crimean War', 'a rich atmosphere of arrant skulduggery and florid jingoism surrounds the first English translation of *Dead Souls*' (1949, p. 112).⁴⁶ Lach-Szyrma's translation cashes in on British ignorance and a mood of national resistance towards the Russians mitigated only by cautious acceptance of the europeanised Turgenev. The methods, or 'social operations' (Shusterman, 1999, p. 222) which Lach-Szyrma and his editor(s) adopt to position *Dead Souls* in the British literary field coexist with Fitzgerald's (in)famous remastering of Omar Khayyam's collection of poetry (Munday, 2008, p. 125), and the variously distorted versions of *The Thousand and One Nights* (Borges, 1935, pp. 94-108, and Shamma, 2009, p. 5). On a more magnified and modern scale still, the same processes and preoccupations can be found again, just over half a century later, in Gorkii's post-revolutionary Soviet drive (so-called *Vsemirnaia*

⁴⁵ Examples include: the substitution of Herr Kotzebue's unnamed drama for Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (Chapter One); the contrived insertion of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Chapter Four); ginger-beer instead of *kvass* (Chapter Eleven), the additions of a 'castle in the Spanish style' (*châteaux d'Espagne*) and a Venetian balcony (Chapter Twelve).

⁴⁶ An anonymous post-publication review appearing in *The Athenæum* on 2 December 1854, turns a critical spotlight on the credibility of the editor, exposing the fact that the text has been manipulated by tactical omissions and negative interpolations. (Lefevre writes at length about the revelations which ensued.)

literatura, his 'World Literature Publishing House', or 'Worldlit' (Leighton, 1991, pp. 6-7)) to translate and publish millions of copies of works of politically-harmonious, state-endorsed world literature.⁴⁷

Lach-Szyrma emerges as an over-politicised and over-free creator-author who employs artificial flourishes and misleading bias. With little prior exposure to such 'accounts', the British readership is too uninformed to test the accuracy of his creation. The different rationales, motives and operational complexities behind the selection of a foreign text for translation therefore become significant considerations. Questions prevail over who will translate the foreign text; who will write its paratext and with a view to projecting which message; who will publish it and why? Who 'will take some sort of possession of it, and slant it with his own point of view, and explain how it fits into the field of reception' (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 222)? Once these initial questions are resolved, then the focus shifts to the target audience and 'the reading process itself, as foreign readers are bound to perceive the text in different ways, since the issues which are of interest to them in the text are inevitably the result of a different field of production' (ibid.).

Social Agents at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

E.A. Cazalet and the Anglo-Russian Literary Society

The latter half of the nineteenth century sees a confluence of factors – social shifts and the emergence of social agents (dedicated advocates, publishers, and translators) – which prove instrumental in shaping the climate for Russian literary translation and eventually for accepting the Russian canon into the British literary field. Those few elite readers able to read Russian literature in the original and/or with a specific interest in Anglo-Russian relations could subscribe to the Anglo-Russian Literary Society (ARLS), founded in 1893 by the formidable Russophile Edward A. Cazalet (1836-1923) (Galton, 1970, p. 272). Familiar with Russian life and culture,⁴⁸ Cazalet founded the ARLS in his

⁴⁷ On the subject of pro-Soviet versions of texts by foreign writers, Brian James Baer writes in *Translation and the Making of Modern Russian Literature*, that 'Translation played an important and very visible role within the Soviet empire as reflected in the domestic policy of *druzhba narodov*, or friendship of Soviet peoples, [...] and in the Soviet Union's foreign policy, which sought to establish Moscow as the capital of world communism' (2016, p. 60).

⁴⁸ Cazalet's family made a living as brewers in St. Petersburg, and Cazalet himself worked as secretary to the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company of Odessa. He travelled extensively around Russia, wrote a

retirement with the aim of strengthening relations between the countries but, according to Dorothy Galton, as the first and only president of the society (and its secretary too from 1904-1922), Cazalet's venture seems to have been as much to do with satisfying his own ego:

From the *Proceedings*, one gets an impression of a rather cantankerous, self-opinionated and pompous autocrat, who would not suffer any interference in the running of his pet society. (Ibid.)

Irrespective of Cazalet's commandeering style, the venture nevertheless provided an outlet for drumming up interest in Russia and Russian culture in the UK; at its peak, in 1897, the society had 500 members. The society's objectives were simply outlined as follows:

- i. To promote the study of Russian Language and Literature;
- ii. To form a library of Russian books and other works, especially interesting from an Anglo-Russian point of view;
- iii. To take in Russian periodicals and newspapers;
- iv. To hold monthly meetings, periodically, for the reading and discussion of suitable papers, writing and speaking in English and Russian being alike admissible.
- v. To promote friendly relations between Great Britain and Russia.

(Ibid., p. 273)

According to Galton, the society presented papers on Goncharov, Tolstoi, Pushkin (ibid., p. 274) and on travel in Russia. It promoted the teaching of the Russian language in schools and publicised Bernard Pares's School of Russian Studies at the University of Liverpool (ibid., p. 277), pre-empting the Hayter report by more than half a century.⁴⁹ Galton notes that, during the latter phase of the society's life, between 1914 and 1921:

[...] the interest aroused in things Russian was reflected in the growing number of books reviewed (language books, translations) and references to an increasing number of journals dealing with Russian affairs [...]. (Ibid.)⁵⁰

Cazalet galvanised a number of intellectuals (Baring, de Vogüé, Graham, Havelock, Maude, Newmarch, Sykes (ibid., pp. 280-282)) in his mission to introduce Russian

book in Russian on the prison reformer John Howard (for which he received a medal), and 'in his day had an unrivalled knowledge of Russia and its affairs' (Galton, 1970, p. 272).

⁴⁹ For more information on the aims of the Hayter report – namely to earmark the need and consequently to fund for a period of ten years a programme in UK universities offering interdisciplinary Slavonic and East European studies – see Hayter 1975.

⁵⁰ In *Retranslation*, Deane-Cox correlates an absence of book reviews to the failure 'on an epitextual level' even to notice a new translation on the market (she uses the example of Blackie & Co.'s 1966 publication of Sand's *The Devil's Pool* (2014, p. 73)). The role of reviews and advertisements should not, therefore, be underestimated.

culture to the British. In discussing the genesis of structure, and proving directly relevant to the pro-Russia vehicle created by Cazalet, Bourdieu observes that:

Economic and social changes affect the literary field indirectly, through the growth in the cultivated audience, i.e. the potential readership, which is itself linked to increased schooling [...]. The existence of an expanding market, which allows the development of the press and the novel, also allows the number of producers to grow. (1993, pp. 54-5)

Bourdieu's assessment takes account of external social change shaping a nation's reading habits and the knock-on effect this has on publishers and the literary field, but his assessment only acknowledges change on a macro level and does little to single out the efforts made by individual evangelists, like Cazalet and the ARLS members.

'Innovators', 'discoverers' and 'consecrators' all exist in Bourdieu's sociological lexis, but few guidelines follow to indicate at what point in the literary journey discoverers can realistically be considered consecrators. In any case, once the publishing houses put their weight behind commissioning and producing Russian literature in translation, the rate of consecration in the UK accelerates significantly. It may be true that, 'On the Continent, [...] Russian literature received an earlier and warmer reception as art than it did in England' (May, 1994, p. 18), but the delay in receiving Russian literature in the UK allowed publishers to survey the popularity of Russian authors abroad, to judge their own market, and decide when might be the surest moment to introduce the canon to a UK readership.⁵¹ British publishers began to include some Russian authors in their series; the Walter Scott Publishing Company, for example, brought out a series in 1896 called 'The World's Greatest Novels' (Blume, 2011, p. 329) which included two of Tolstoi's novels, *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*. This development in publishing is indicative of an increasingly positive sentiment towards Russian culture at the turn of the twentieth century.

⁵¹ According to May, it took at least a decade longer than the French version for an English version of Turgenev's complete works to appear (1994, p. 19). France published Pushkin's *Pikovaya dama* in 1849, whereas the UK published Mrs Sutherland Edwards's version in ca. 1892; a French version of Gogol's *Revizor* appeared in 1853, whereas Thomas Hart-Davies's UK version appeared in 1890; Dostoevskii's *Prestuplenie i nakazanie* was published in Germany in 1882, France in 1884, and the UK in 1886; Tolstoi's *Anna Karenina* arrived in French translation in 1886, but not in the UK until 1901. By contrast, Lermontov's *Geroi nashego vremeni* arrived in the UK in 1853, three years earlier than in France; and Goncharov's *Oblomov* arrived in the UK in 1915, but not in France until 1959.

Publishers of Change

In terms of social change, the most significant development for the eventual reception of Russian literature in the UK is the implementation of Forster's Education Act in 1870 (Eliot, 2009, p. 300), which expanded the nation's readership base, and textbook output, by introducing compulsory education for all children between the ages of five and thirteen (Merkle, 2009, p. 87). The Education Act increased the national demand for books (Eliot, 2009, p. 300) and, as Feather states, 'When larger numbers could read, there was a larger potential market for publishers to exploit' (2006, p. 108). Combine this positive shift towards the 'diffusion of knowledge' (ibid., p. 107) with the Victorian drive for self-improvement (ibid.) – a development which would crucially reappear in post-war Penguin Britain too – and with the realisation of significant technological advancements in publishing, and the literary field towards the end of the nineteenth century begins to teem with dynamic possibilities. In 'From Few and Expensive to Many and Cheap: The British Book Market 1800-1890' (2009), Simon Eliot identifies significant increases in publications at this time, not just in school textbooks, but also 'How-To' books (Mrs Beeton's *Household Management*, for example), children's books, illustrated books, encyclopaedias, guide books, and large-scale, reference-book projects, from *The Oxford English Dictionary* to *Bradshaw's Railway Companion* (pp. 300-301).

As regards the reading of foreign literature, a wider audience⁵² was being reached towards the end of the century thanks to outlets like the Everyman's Library (Feather, 2009, p. 107), The Walter Scott Publishing Company, Vizetelly's 'Du Boisgobey's Sensational Novels', George Bell and Sons' 'Bohn's Libraries', and Heinemann's International Library. However, the reaching-out to a wider readership did not come without tensions. In 'The Reader-Brand: Tolstoy in England at the Turn of the Century' (2011), Gwendolyn Blume argues that new access, on a national scale, to literature and learning initiated a schism, a cultural divide between the literary 'elite' and the mass audience. Blume argues that the introduction of Russian literature into Britain's new literary landscape revealed an 'inability of the elite to control access to cultural knowledge' (ibid., p. 322), and, consequently, allowed the circulation of Russian literature across all social strata. As already discussed, to read Russian literature in the

⁵² As Blume notes, 'the masterpieces of world literature became a mark of education – or a self-education that could replicate the effects of education' (2011, p. 330).

original would prove as 'off limits' for much of the literary elite as it would for the everyday reader: a levelling experience, therefore. Writing specifically about Tolstoi's assimilation into the British literary field, Blume remarks that an element of intellectual elitism was sustained for a period by reading Tolstoi's works in French translation (ibid., p. 324). However, spotting an opportunity to sell more books, publishers produced the full series of Tolstoi's works (even the lesser-known ones) (ibid., p. 325), not only accommodating the elitist reader's need to exhibit literary one-upmanship and superior knowledge, but also embracing the new brand of Education-Act reader by making more world literature available in English.

Henry Vizetelly: Penguin Predecessor, Victim of Norms

Henry Vizetelly (1820-1894) and his son Ernest were responsible for moving the British publishing industry towards modernisation and for experimenting with the field in ways which Lane would then also go on to enshrine in his own publishing house just over half a century later. In 'Vizetelly & Company as (Ex)change Agents' (2009), Denise Merkle singles out Vizetelly as one of the first publishers to recognise the existence of a post-Forster-Act readership (p. 90). Foreshadowing Penguin, the family-run publishing house 'pioneered the translation and publishing of foreign novels for a mass market' (ibid., p. 87).⁵³ Between 1880 and 1889, Vizetelly produced 250 titles by 110 authors (ibid., p. 89). 56% of them were French titles in single-volume, rather than triple-decker books and were sold at inexpensive prices (ibid., p. 85).⁵⁴ This publishing and pricing novelty was seen as a challenge to the circulating libraries (as Penguin would be in its time (Lewis, 2006, pp. 79-80)), which had hitherto denied book access to the newly literate mass readers on the grounds of their socio-economic standing (Merkle, 2009, p. 87).

Particularly pertinent to this study, Vizetelly was progressive in terms of applauding and publishing Russian literature. He created a series entitled 'Celebrated Russian Novels'. This consisted of ten titles according to Merkle (ibid., p. 89), but from

⁵³ Keen to showcase his appreciation of world literature, Vizetelly created numerous series, the largest being 'Du Boisgobey's Sensational Novels', with 39 titles.

⁵⁴ Feather observes that 'the one volume novel, whether a re-print or an original work, reached a wider market than the three-decker, and was a more permanent feature of the scene than the comparatively transitory serialised or part-issue work' (2006, p. 127).

my own research, I have found evidence of twelve titles.⁵⁵ This series included the first translations by Frederick Whishaw into English of Dostoevskii's *Crime and Punishment* (1886) and *The Idiot* (1887). As May notes, praise for Whishaw's translations in reviews at the time comes from his seemingly 'judicious' handling of the text as a novelist in his own right; in other words, he saw fit to introduce changes and truncations to the text in an attempt to render Dostoevskii more palatable to the reader (May, 1994, p. 28).⁵⁶

Vizetelly was not just a production pioneer, however. His challenge to the Victorian censors – by making 'available to the general public, in particular the lower classes, "unexpurgated" translations of "objectionable" foreign, primarily French literature' (Merkle, 2009, p. 88) – was a premature challenge to the existing structure of the literary field, where Vizetelly in the role of 'innovator' took on the 'conservatives' (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 185):

What Vizetelly underestimated was the establishment's fear of the potentially subversive power of a translated novel read by those who did not master foreign languages, or the poorly educated – in the traditional British sense of the word. (Merkle, 2009, p. 90)

Vizetelly misgauged the readiness of the field. He was found guilty of publishing 'obscene' literature in translation: he was imprisoned for three months in 1889 (ibid., p. 85) and his publishing house was declared bankrupt. However, his commitment to the mass audience (and to the mass audience's purse), to producing a new book format, and to providing only loosely expurgated texts, seen as an affront to Victorian censorship, collectively mark Vizetelly out as a publisher 'who played an active role in the British revolt' (ibid., p. 88). Vizetelly can therefore be seen as a significant forerunner of Lane.

In 1960, Lane's business practice was also questioned on legal grounds and in the same way that Vizetelly's had been. To mark the thirtieth anniversary of D.H. Lawrence's death (Lewis, 2006, p. 315), Penguin decided to publish another seven titles, including

⁵⁵ According to the opening pages of another Vizetelly publication from the French Sensational Novels series, *Where's Zenobia?* (du Boisgobey, 1888) the following eleven Russian titles are advertised in the 'Celebrated Russian Novels' series: Tolstoi's *Anna Karenina*, *War and Peace*, *My Husband and I*, and *The Cossacks*; Dostoevskii's *Crime and Punishment*, *Injury and Insult*, *The Friend of the Family* and *The Gambler*, *The Idiot*; Gogol's *Dead Souls*, *Taras Bulba*; and finally, Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time* (no translator names are given). (See <pid.emory.edu/ark:/25593/7sf9d/PDF> [Accessed 16 May 2017].) By searching Dostoevskii translations on the <onlinebooks.library> website, one further translation by Whishaw is also listed as a Vizetelly publication: *Uncle's Dream; and the Permanent Husband* (1888).

⁵⁶ I have not been able to locate copies of Whishaw's translations of *Crime and Punishment* and *The Idiot* in order to be able to judge for myself the extent to which Whishaw adapted Dostoevskii's works to suit the target readership. (Edward Garnett himself remarked in *Academy*, 1 September 1906, (pp. 202-203) on the impossibility of procuring copies of Whishaw's translations, cited in Heilbrun (1959, p. 255).)

Lady Chatterley's Lover, to accompany the thirteen titles they had already published on the twentieth anniversary of his death in 1949. Given that Penguin had already published 'complete and unexpurgated' Penguin versions of *Sons and Lovers* (1948) and *The Rainbow* (1949), McCleery maintains that the 'publication of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was therefore a natural, even essential addition to the Penguin catalogue' (2002, p. 174). Lane had also previously adopted a bold stance when Robert Graves expressed concern that his translation of *Golden Ass* (1950) might lead to prosecution for obscenity. Lane 'promised to back Graves should the matter become a legal one, even offering to remove the standard libel and obscenity clause from Graves' contract' (Crowe, 2012, pp. 199-200). Lane's aspiration in January 1960 to proceed with a 200,000 copy print run (Lewis, 2006, p. 324) of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was emboldened by the fact that the US had successfully published an unexpurgated edition of the book the previous year. Lane was optimistic right up until early August 1960 (ibid., p. 319) that he too would be able to publish the book with impunity. In an attempt to minimise the threat of prosecution, Penguin's solicitor, Michael Rubenstein, advised Lane to change his plans and to authorise instead a limited publication of only twelve copies (ibid., p. 324). Lane followed Rubenstein's advice but charges were nevertheless brought; publication of Lawrence's novel was suspended (ibid., p. 326), and the now famous *Lady Chatterley* trial began at the Old Bailey, in London, on 20 October 1960 and lasted until 2 November 1960 (Yates, 2006, p. 79). Lane was seemingly unfazed by the possible repercussions of a guilty verdict, punishable by a fine or three years in prison. He was reassured that, in his defence, and according to the new 1959 Obscene Publications Act (Feather, 2006, p. 205), he would be able to offer satisfactory 'grounds of literary merit' (ibid.). Nevertheless, he would have been aware (especially given his uncle's publishing prominence), of the sentence served by Vizetelly.

The trial put penetrating questions – about the definition of art, 'good' literature, obscenity, morality, "publishability" – to a swathe of agents associated with the literary field. In a rare moment of transparency, the case laid bare to the outer world the social impact of legislation, that the State will decide what a nation may read and will use legislation (censorship and, if necessary, litigation) to "protect" the nation. Legislation is a powerful agent, therefore, operating within and constantly poised to act upon the publishing field, defining parameters and imposing norms beyond the publisher's control. In Lane's case, though, the jury brought back a landmark 'not guilty' verdict, and

Lane was rewarded not just with a court victory, but also with having been instrumental in changing British society. Lane's courtroom triumph is credited with redefining the landscape of 'publishable' literature and jolting Britain out of the fifties, into the swinging sixties, 'a new culture of freedom and liberation, the so-called permissive society' (Feather, 2006, p. 205). Lane's win secured Penguin as a recognisable brand and it confirmed Lane's position of authority in the field. He had successfully nudged the norms which had previously governed the field. Looking back over his win (which soon became financial as much as legal),⁵⁷ and as if to confirm Feather's statement that Lane was 'always a man of the left and still willing to challenge orthodoxies' (ibid.), Lane himself later declared in an interview that 'there's a time in a publishing firm, especially when things are going well, when to chuck a jemmy in the works is a very good thing because it gives everyone a lift' (Lewis, 2006, p. 316).

The energy and agonistics of Lane's agency were directed upwards, a counter force to the establishment, in his attempt to transform the 'established power relationships in the field of production' (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 183). Bourdieu argues that 'The strategies of the agents and institutions that are engaged in literary struggles, [...] depend on the position they occupy in the structure of the field' (ibid.). This is equally applicable to Vizetelly. Vizetelly's unsuccessful outcome can be explained by the unorthodoxy of his proposition, a blatant confrontation with the fixed parameters of an intractable field not yet able to conceive of his proposals. If we compare Vizetelly's case with Lane's successful challenge, Vizetelly's failure is caused by two factors: a result of his lack of power, position and influence within the field's hierarchy, and a result of powerful resistance from within a law-enforced field.

Heinemann's International Library: A Precursor to Penguin Classics

Although Vizetelly and his publishing house paid for their efforts to challenge publishing norms, Vizetelly was not alone in recognising and attempting to shape the literary field to suit a changing readership. The Surbiton-born, Dresden-educated publisher William Heinemann (1863-1920), who had been trained, like Lane, in every

⁵⁷ Lewis writes that 'the phenomenal sales of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* had a dramatic effect on Penguin's figures for 1960: pre-tax profits were three times those of the previous year at £364,000, and profit margins increased from 9.3 per cent of turnover to 18.5 per cent' (2006, p. 336).

aspect of publishing,⁵⁸ had his most successful break in terms of literature in translation with the creation of Heinemann's International Library in 1890 (Rees, 2017, p. 180), a series of foreign literary works headed by the editor (and translator of Ibsen), Edmund Gosse (1849-1928) (St John, 1990, p. 16). In the same way that Bourdieu identifies a publisher 'type' in 'A Conservative Revolution in Publishing' (2008), Gosse's editorial attributes – reputed linguistic skills, meticulousness, industriousness and punctuality – are also demonstrated years later by the Penguin Classics editors, Rieu and Glover, and may be suggestive of an editorial habitus. Gosse's professional experience included editing 'a series of short histories on the literatures of fifteen nations and/or languages', the Century of French Romance series consisting of twelve single-volume works by 'the most famous French authors' (St John, 1990, p. 78), and a thirteen-volume edition of Scandinavian writer Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson's collected works. He is described by Heinemann's biographer John St John as making 'the ideal editor of the first of William's [Heinemann's] large-scale, office-originated projects' (ibid.).

Heinemann's International Library boasted seventeen foreign language titles by 1894 and the translations of works by European authors became one of the 'cornerstones of Heinemann's prosperity' (St John, 1990, p. 16). This prosperity can be attributed, not just to Heinemann's patronage or to the symbolic capital of Gosse's editorial career, but to the services of Constance Garnett, whose commissions are described by St John as being 'undoubtedly the most important and enduring contribution Heinemann made to British understanding of European literature' (ibid., p. 79). However, before examining the relationship between Heinemann and his most prolific translator, Heinemann's role as a publisher facing contemporary difficulties in the industry should briefly be explored. Through close reading of his personal letters, published in one volume as *The Hardships of Publishing* (1893), it is possible to analyse the inner workings and commercial pressures of Heinemann's publishing house, and to explain the nature of his work relationship with Garnett.

⁵⁸ Heinemann was apprenticed in 1879 to the German publisher Nicholas Trübner at Longman (St John, 1990, p. 5). Like Lane, Heinemann is described as having '[...] gained practical experience of every phase of publishing from routine selling and publicity to buying paper and dealing with printers' estimates. His interest in and grasp of technical details were to contribute to many of his future successes. He always took meticulous pains over the appearance of his books, over the quality of the paper, typeface and binding, and his brain seemed to be equipped with a built-in computer when calculating production costs' (ibid., p. 6).

In a letter to *The Athenæum* on 3 December 1892, Heinemann identifies two dangers facing the publishing industry: 'the Scylla of those who provide us with raw material, and the Charybdis of those for whom our ready-made wares are intended' (ibid., p. 4). In the case of Scylla – the printers, papermakers, binders, and authors – he reports that: printer/binder salaries and prices have steadily increased, brought about by their affiliated trades unions; that the public are no longer impervious to quality and have enhanced expectations about both the paper and the binding used in book production, a development which has therefore seen costs rise; and that authors too have 'put themselves together in a trades union [...] conducted, besides, with intelligence, with foresight, with purity of purpose, but unquestionably and avowedly against the publisher' (ibid.).

Heinemann's biggest bone of contention in his correspondence concerns the author's expectation of receiving a royalty, a development which, as Feather argues, 'created new tensions in the trade' (2006, p. 132). Payment terms between the author and the publisher became more complex, and more beneficial to the author, by the turn of the nineteenth century (ibid.) and the outlet for championing authors' rights to which Heinemann refers, the Society of Authors, was created in 1883 (ibid.). Heinemann's response to the new expectation for publishers to pay royalties was a flat refusal even to negotiate royalties. He argued with feeling about the damaging impact royalty payments would ultimately have on the publisher:

[...] on the subject of our authors, [...] their prices have gone up with leaps and bounds of late; that royalties are actually being paid which, with the increase in the cost of production, leave to the publisher barely his working expenses [...]. (Heinemann, 1893, pp. 8-9)

By the term 'Charybdis', Heinemann does not in fact mean the reading public, but 'the middleman, the bookseller, and the librarian' (ibid., p. 9). The picture he paints reflects the mood of the era, when publishers and booksellers were forced to acknowledge a state of crisis in the retail book trade brought about by 'intensive price competition' (Feather, 2006, p. 101). Heinemann describes a pre-Net Book Agreement climate which hosted a crushing, 'abominable discount system' (Heinemann, 1893, p. 9) and which forced the middlemen to become purveyors of all and sundry, not just books (ibid.). Heinemann likens the world of bookselling to the backing of horses (ibid., p. 10), with as

many risks and gambles.⁵⁹ As far as Heinemann is concerned, better terms are ‘offered as an inducement, with the result that we are at the present moment cutting prices to an extent that will land us all in the work-house if we do not make some timely and united stand against this increasing danger’ (ibid.). His solution is to call for a publishers’ society, a union, which will join the battle to defend publisher rights (ibid., p. 14).⁶⁰ Heinemann’s letters explain better the unwavering line he later takes with Garnett. They expose the reality that translators had no representation or power as agents attempting to navigate terms in the literary field. They also set the scene for Lane’s paperback price-war fifty years later and confirm that, even then, a century or so before Bourdieu’s own observations, the field of publishing was as much about ‘the “pure” publisher’s mercenary mindset, his or her submission to market necessities’ (2008, p. 138), as it was about publishing world-class literature.

Heinemann and Garnett: An Early Model of Publisher-Translator Relations

Between 1892 and the mid-1920s, Garnett (1861-1946) translated over seventy volumes of Russian literature, the majority of which were published either by Heinemann or Chatto and Windus (Garnett, 2009, pp. 361-362). According to Garnett’s grandson Richard, Constance and her husband Edward ‘were already interested in Russian literature’ (ibid., p. 73) before Constance started translating it. (Edward had reviewed a book called *The Modern Novelists of Russia* and Constance had read Turgenev (probably in translation) during January 1890.) During the summer of 1891 (ibid.), Edward invited the Russian exile Felix Volkhovskii to spend a weekend with them and Constance became ‘a great friend’ (ibid.) of his. It was at Volkhovskii’s suggestion that Garnett began learning Russian (ibid., p. 75), the complexity of which she found ‘so exciting’ (ibid., p. 76).

Garnett relied for linguistic guidance in her early works on her new-found London-based, Russian-émigré friends, who were representative of the newcomers

⁵⁹ This observation is made repeatedly about publishing. According to Feather’s *A History in British Publishing*, ‘All publishers have to take risks’ (2006, p. 139). McCleery cites early Penguin employee and designer of the first Penguin logo, Edward Young, as stressing in 1952 that ‘Lane’s greatness lay in his willingness to take “a gamble on the existence of a far larger critical and appreciative public than the book trade was at that time prepared to believe in”’ (2002, p. 164).

⁶⁰ This is a solution, however, which proved futile by 1938 when Heinemann’s representative, Charles Evans, clashed head-on with Lane over the sub-leasing of rights to Penguin of Heinemann’s cheap editions. Evans is reported to have said that, ‘the sales of Penguins have done more harm to publishing and authors than any movement for a great many years’ (Lewis, 2006, p. 94).

identified by Bullock (2009, p. 24) and had political reasons for relocating to the UK.⁶¹ Her most attentive language tutors were Volkhovskii, Prince Kropotkin (Garnett, 2009, p. 73) and the Stepniaks, husband, Sergei, and wife, Fanny (ibid., p. 97). This circle of Russian acquaintances inspired her and she met with the Stepniaks once a week to read Russian together. With their input, 'she began to have a sense of vocation to translate Russian literature' (ibid., p. 86)⁶² and before long started translating Goncharov's *A Common Story*. She conveyed her gratitude in a letter to Volkhovskii dated 1 January 1898:

All this work I owe in a way to you – for had I not met you, I should never have been interested in Russian, and should never have troubled myself to learn the language which opened quite another universe to me. (Ibid., p. 181)

She also relied on Edward – well-positioned in the literary field as a publisher's reader and able therefore to promote his wife's work – and then later on their son David to pen the introductions and biographical sketches, which Heinemann felt were a necessary supplement to her works, and which she felt were beyond her. Richard Garnett quotes his father David as having written 'that Constance "found it an agony to write anything original"' (ibid., pp. 306-307).⁶³

Much has been written about the volume, speed and thoroughness of Garnett's contribution to Russian literature in English translation. Her work has been described by G.S. Smith as 'prodigious almost beyond belief' (2000, p. 85), and he summarises her contribution as:

[...] a seventeen-volume Turgenev; thirteen volumes of Chekhov short stories, a two-volume translation of his plays, and another single-volume edition of his letters; a twelve-volume Dostoevsky; the major works of Gogol; *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina*, and other works by Tolstoy; Goncharov's *A Common Story* (she

⁶¹ Volkhovskii had been imprisoned in St Petersburg and Siberia for anti-Tsarist activities before fleeing for England in 1889. He settled in London where he edited the newspaper, *Free Russia* (Saunders, 2009), founded by Sergei Stepniak. Stepniak, pseudonym for Sergei Kravchinskii, assassinated St. Petersburg's Chief of Police, General Mezentsev, in August 1878 (Saunders, 2013) and, after dodging capture, settled in London in 1884.

⁶² Out of the flat fee and royalties Garnett received for her first six volumes of Turgenev translations, she 'paid Stepniak one-fifth of her earnings for his help in checking her translation' (Garnett, 2009, p. 145). It was also at Sergei's suggestion (influenced by his need for her to courier anti-Tsarist letters to Russian contacts on his behalf (ibid., p. 106)) that she took her first trip to Russia at the very start of 1894.

⁶³ Richard adds that 'She was [...] always loath to write about Russian literature [...]. And when she needed translator's notes she seemed to suffer the same kind of block that prevents otherwise fluent authors from being able to write their own blurbs' (Garnett, 2009, p. 307). See also Heilbrun's 'The Garnett Family' (1959), which corroborates Richard's quotation (p. 216). Heilbrun's subsequent observation about Edward providing 'introductions to most of his wife's translations of Turgenev' hints at the ulterior, paratextual importance of the introduction: 'He [Edward] suggested in these introductions, particularly in the one to *On The Eve*, that England had better understand the force of Russian aims, before coming to a test of strength with her' (1959, p. 249).

was pipped on *Oblomov* by C.J. Hogarth's abridged version); Herzen's *My Past and Thoughts*; and Ostrovsky's *The Storm*. (Ibid.)⁶⁴

Garnett's work continues to receive accolades even now.⁶⁵ When literary commentators discuss her contribution, 'single-handedly' is a word which appears with frequency⁶⁶ but, whilst the linguistic achievement was indeed hers, it would be simplistic to suggest that she worked alone in cornering the market. Garnett's professional relationship with Heinemann is scarcely analysed in accounts of her career but is of the greatest salience to my argument here. When Heinemann agreed in the summer of 1893 (Garnett, 2009, p. 100) to publish her first translation, Goncharov's *A Common Story*, in Heinemann's International Library, Garnett received her first payment of £40 (ibid., p. 107). *A Common Story* was published in 1894 and Garnett was asked to translate Tolstoi's *The Kingdom of God is Within You* (St John, 1990, p. 79), heralding the start of her forty-year career (Garnett, 2009, pp. 361-2) in Russian-English literary translation. Heinemann commissioned her to translate Turgenev (1894-1899), then more Tolstoi (*Anna Karenina* (1901), *The Death of Ivan Ilyitch and Other Stories* (1902), *War and Peace* (1904)) (ibid.) at a rate of twelve shillings per thousand words but with no royalty (ibid., p. 191). Whereas Turgenev sold well, unfortunately Tolstoi did not and her 'translations lost the firm money' (St John, 1990, p. 79).

It was this loss-maker, coupled with Heinemann's increased anxiety over royalties, that would go on to dictate the tone of Garnett's relationship with Heinemann thereafter, highlighting the significance of the decision-making infrastructure for all involved in the publishing process (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 123). With every new translation Heinemann commissioned her to do (and she was about to embark on the Dostoevskii novels), he turned down, or at least deferred, all her requests for some sort of modest royalty on the sale of a specific number of copies (St John, 1990, p. 80). In a further blow, as Heinemann balanced the cost of producing longer books and the risk that they might not sell (Garnett, 2009, p. 259), she also suffered a pay-cut (St John, 1990, p. 80),

⁶⁴ For a complete list of the stories included in each volume, see the appendix in Richard Garnett's biography (2009, pp. 361-362).

⁶⁵ See, for example, the online discussions on the Goodreads webpages concerning the 'best' translations of *Anna Karenina* and *The Brothers Karamazov*, respectively: <<http://www.goodreads.com/topic/show/826979-which-english-translation-of-anna-karenina-was-the-best>> and <<https://www.goodreads.com/topic/show/983001-which-translation-is-the-best-translation>> [Accessed 31 January 2017].

⁶⁶ See Smith (2000, p. 85) and Delisle and Woodsworth (2012, p. 146).

reduced to nine shillings per thousand words. He wrote to her in 1911 to explain why he could not oblige her in paying a royalty:

I have on principle nothing against it, but you will realise that I must also take into consideration the frightful failure of the Tolstoy translations, and the horrible loss they have entailed, eating up so far most of the profit on Turgenev. I should rather say that after three years I would see how we stand and pay you a further fee if I find my Russian translations have been sufficiently successful to warrant it. At the present moment the Tolstoy's balance the Turgenev's, and I am hoping that Dostoevsky will recoup and pay me; but that of course is a gamble [...] (letter from Heinemann to Garnett, 19 July 1911, *ibid.*)

One might think that the success of Heinemann's and Garnett's joint Dostoevskii venture would bode well for Garnett financially, and Richard Garnett implies that his grandmother's success as a translator hinged precisely on these translations.⁶⁷ However, Garnett never received the royalties she sought. To add insult to injury, Heinemann's advertisements promoting their 1911 Dostoevskii release waxed lyrical about her talent and expertise:

His [Dostoevskii's] books have been translated into many different European languages, notably of course into French and German, and through them have reached English readers. But a translation through another language is but a distant relation to the original, and is always unsatisfactory for any one wishing to make the acquaintance of the works of a true literary artist. It is, therefore, with special satisfaction that Mr. Heinemann announces a translation of the works of another of the great Russian Classics by Constance Garnett, whose translation of the works of Turgenev and Tolstoy are among the finest translations ever made in English and have as such been specially honoured by the British Government. (Advertisement for *Some Autumn Books*, 1911. St John, 1990, p. 62)

Despite an increase in prestige and visibility as a translator (Deane-Cox, 2014, p. 71), Garnett failed to convince Heinemann to translate her symbolic capital into a comparable economic return. In her last attempt in April 1915 to persuade him to pay her a royalty, she pointed out that she was, in fact, 'being paid less for what I am doing for you now than for the work I did in 1895 when I had no name and no experience' (St John, 1990, p. 80). Whilst Heinemann restored her pay to the improved rate of twelve shillings per thousand words, he still resisted paying any royalty, setting out to her seemingly reasonable justifications, from a publisher's position, why he could not. The war, he felt, would increase production costs and restrict all abilities to pay an increased

⁶⁷ 'Long before Constance had completed her last volume of his works she had made Dostoevsky's name a household word – and he had done the same for her' (Garnett, 2009, p. 267).

word rate as well as a royalty (ibid., p. 81). Indicating Heinemann's leaning at this point towards the commercial 'pole' (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 138)– as he so earnestly conveys in his letter to *The Athenæum* – this would be their last negotiation over terms. With her next proposal, Garnett went to a new publisher, Chatto & Windus (St John, 1990, p. 81), and her collection of Chekhov's short stories was published with them in 1916.

In an attempt to protect his own immediate interests and to satisfy his economic capital, Heinemann arguably lost the surest route to continued success in his foreign literature publications. Over the course of twenty years dedicated to translations for Heinemann, Garnett had earned praise and a largely unshakeable reputation from literary critics, a status which she herself defined as 'rather unusual for a translator' (Garnett, 2009, p. 265). Although she may be regarded as one of Heinemann's most reliable assets, her career with him results in her becoming a dominated agent. This ultimately left her with little alternative but to break away and find financial success elsewhere in the literary field.⁶⁸ It is Garnett's 'unusual' reputation as a pioneering translator that has endured. In his review of G.S. Smith's biography of D.S. Mirsky, Donald Rayfield argues that 'Constance Garnett, with Herculean productivity, gave the English reader virtually all the Russian prose classics' (2001, p. 28). May explains how, even as new translations began appearing decades after Garnett's, the literary reviews continued, loyally, to direct praise and gratitude her way, as seen here in de Mauny's review of the new 1953 Penguin version of Dostoevskii's *The Devils* (*The Possessed*):

Several generations of English readers have come to know Dostoevsky's *Besy* through Mrs. Constance Garnett's translation, *The Possessed*. But the perfect translation is an unattainable ideal, and it is only natural that in every second or third generation a new translator should feel impelled to offer a fresh interpretation of an original masterpiece in the light of his own time. Nor is it a denigration of Mrs Garnett's great pioneering work on the Russian nineteenth-century novelists to say that Mr Magarshack has produced a new version of *The Possessed* which is tauter and basically more accurate than his predecessor. (*The TLS*, 30 April 1954)

In spite of her success, Garnett's professional career as a translator was not trouble-free. Details of the Heinemann chapter of her life are mostly glossed over in biographical

⁶⁸ This eventuality suggests that Rieu's decision, fifty or so years later, to commission more than one specialist per Penguin Classic language created an effective, occasionally essential, safety net, allowing translators to leave without impacting too significantly on production. Translators who failed to complete their commissions for Rieu were soon found replacements (Magarshack swiftly replaced Seeley for a translation of Dostoevskii's *Prestuplenie i nakazanie* (Ref. DM1107/L23), Edmonds replaced Gardiner for a translation of Turgenev's *Otsy i deti* (Ref. DM1107/L147)).

résumés of her career,⁶⁹ yet I argue here that this is a model which allows us to observe how translators and publishers begin to collaborate professionally, how they respond to market interest and achieve commercial and personal aims by working together rather than in isolation. Arguably, without Heinemann, Garnett might not have become the trailblazing name of translation; and equally, Heinemann would not have enjoyed financial success or such a pre-eminent position in the field of translated literature. There are tensions too, though. As detailed in Heinemann's letters, commercial decisions and market demands drive operational decisions and conduct, potentially at the expense of the translator's rights. For the translator, employer dependence and the pledge of cultural capital must be sufficiently rewarded (financially and reputationally), otherwise relations become unsustainable, as shown in Garnett's case. Heinemann and Garnett become a valid reference point, therefore, against which it is possible to compare Penguin's twentieth-century publisher-translator relations.

Conclusion

Previously, Bullock, May and Blume have examined the Victorian climate – political and social – for publishing Russian literature in translation; and book historians Eliot and Feather have analysed historical trends in publishing, again driven by political and social change. I have also used this chapter to examine their findings with a Translation Studies lens, using a historically- and sociologically-influenced framework. I have analysed the roles which have been played by power and patronage between agents in cementing the Russian literary canon in the UK, from the macro level of national politics and state propaganda, imposing an anti-Russian mood and bias from the top down, to individual agents classed as discoverers, dedicating themselves to challenging the hierarchy upwards from their position in the field.

It comes as no surprise given the long-established tide of ready Russophobia in the UK that the efforts of early discoverers resulted mainly in only marginal gains; however, through my analysis of their habitus, patronage, hierarchical position, and distribution of capital, I have demonstrated how these agents were self-standing catalysts for

⁶⁹ Heilbrunn's Garnett study only makes brief reference to Constance's relations with Heinemann. She summarises thus: 'In the beginning Heinemann paid her twelve shillings per thousand words; for the translation of *War and Peace* she received £300. When she went over to Chatto and Windus, she was better paid. But she only made a financial success at the end of her life when she translated Chekhov's plays' (1959, p. 243).

change. Thanks to their perseverance and individual motivations, their monitoring of the state of the literary field and the mood of the nation towards Russia, Russian literature in the UK finally came to the attention of publishers. This chapter's culminating analysis of Heinemann and Garnett has enabled me to argue that the Russian literary canon flourished thanks to the joint weight of a publishing house – investing in, marketing and commercialising translations (even down to mercenary decisions over the translator's pay) – and the concentrated engagement of a domesticating, rather than overtly politicised translator. Changes too to the publishing field and shifts in readership demands brought about by the Forster Education Act meant that Heinemann and Garnett were able to take advantage of a wider, Edwardian readership when they approached Russian literature in translation. Each agent seized their opportunity.

The combination of Heinemann's (presumably profit-driven) willingness to continue publishing an oeuvre the size of Garnett's, and Garnett's ability to bring 'Russian literature within reach of English readers' (May, 1994, p. 37), leads them to be regarded as the first really successful consecrators of the Russian canon in the UK. Garnett in particular came to be seen as a 'single mediator for Russian literature' (ibid., p. 38). In the long history of failed attempts to consecrate Russian literature in Britain, the canon became so firmly established by Heinemann's International Library that the Russian craze – the surge of British interest in Russian literature which, spanning 1910-1925, was 'fed by familiarity with Turgenev and Tolstoy' (May, 1994, p. 31)) and 'sustained very largely by the amazing achievements of Constance Garnett as translator' (France, 2000, p. 591) – continued even after Heinemann and Garnett had gone their separate ways. Through Heinemann's patronage, albeit poorly paid, Garnett was able to build herself a marketable brand. Garnett's reputational capital enabled her not only to secure a better-paying commissioner during the remainder of her career but also, as I have demonstrated, to become a benchmark for subsequent translations and translators even transcending her lifetime. Whilst the end of the Russian craze led into a quieter, forty-year period for Russian literature in translation in the UK, with very few attempts to better or modernise Garnett's efforts,⁷⁰ the Heinemann-Garnett model itself, of

⁷⁰ The Maudes translated Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* (1918), *War and Peace* (1922) and *Resurrection* (1927) and their versions, which appeared after Garnett's, are 'the most frequently reprinted versions' (France, 2000, p. 592). France does not single out any post-Garnett translator of Dostoevskii's major works until Magarshack and the Penguin Classics versions in the second half of the twentieth century (ibid., p. 596); but he credits S.S.

publishing literature in translation, returned in a better organised and modernised form in 1950. When Lane and Rieu unveiled the Penguin Classics series, they re-launched Russian literature in translation, beginning with Gardiner's translation of Turgenev's *On the Eve*, fifty-five years after the Heinemann-Garnett version, and with it came a new phase of publisher-editor-translator relations.

Kotelianskii in the 1920s-30s with creating a finer version than Garnett of Chekhov's *My Life* (ibid., p. 599). Other post-Garnett retranslations which appeared are US versions of Gogol's *Dead Souls* by Bernard Guilbert Guerney (1942) and George Reavey (1948).

Chapter Three: Publisher-Translator Relations within Penguin's Russian Classics

Introduction

This chapter examines the relationship between Lane and his editors and Penguin's commissioned freelancers. Critical developments which will first be explored are: Lane's decision to distance himself from the Penguin Classics series, his acknowledgment of Rieu's background as an experienced editor and translator, and his confidence in handing the series over to such an expert. By delegating power to Rieu and Glover, Lane allows them the autonomy to create a business venture of their own, as they know best, under the bigger Penguin auspices. This chapter will then examine the Penguin Classics editors – E.V. Rieu and A.S.B. Glover, Betty Radice, and Robert Baldick – and the early corps of Penguin's Russian Classics translators, including Gilbert Gardiner, Elisaveta Fen, Rosemary Edmonds and David Magarshack.

This chapter draws on the historical/archival aspect of my methodological framework and the key reference point is the archival primary material, in particular the fourteen Penguin archive folders (already introduced)⁷¹ which relate to the earliest phase of Penguin's Russian Classics from 1950-1962, the Medallion Titles, and correspondence found in Magarshack's and Fen's papers at the Leeds Russian archive. The contents of the Penguin folders document the working relations enjoyed between the editors and translators, and identify those people hired by Rieu in his role as inaugural Penguin Classics series editor. Many of these folders contain a large quantity of letters and memos on subjects ranging from negotiations over royalties, to day-to-day comments on corporate and personal housekeeping, with translators even revealing their need for a holiday or to pay household bills. Some folders are scant in both volume and informational content, and in nearly every case, the earliest, precise details of how Rieu met and commissioned a new translator are absent (lost, it seems, in a sociable haze of dinner discussions which were never officially recorded).⁷² Nevertheless, the folders provide valuable insight into the field of twentieth-century Russian-English literary translation and publishing. Following Munday's work on microhistories and his

⁷¹ See Appendix 1 for a list of folders consulted.

⁷² In his *Telegraph* article 'History of Penguin archive' (2009), Toby Clements identifies Lane's early staff as 'mostly maverick autodidacts who met for planning dinners that lasted long into the night in a Spanish restaurant in Soho'.

belief that ‘by focusing on the “little facts” of everyday lives [...] a picture can be built up of the specific interaction between a translator and other individuals, groups, institutions and power structures’ (2014, p. 77), I show in this chapter that the archival study of correspondence exchanged between Penguin editors and freelancers reveals a sociological side to translation publishing, one of previously overlooked personalities, work dynamics, and professional pressures (deadlines, corrections, turnaround times, royalties). This chapter demonstrates that publishing and translation agents do not work in isolation; they are inextricably linked, each with their own expectations, aspirations, needs and constraints. The result is an enlightening case study of Penguin agency, which begins (as Boll suggests from his own research into Penguin’s Spanish and Latin American translations) to inform our understanding of the route Russian literature has taken most recently in order to arrive at current publishing-translation practices.

Rieu and the Penguin Classics Mission

After the failure of the 1938 Illustrated Classics series (Lewis, 2006, p. 143), it would have been understandable for Lane to heed the advice of his colleagues and brother Richard (Edwards, Hare, Robinson, 2008, p. 8), and decide not to publish any further series dedicated to the classics on the grounds that ‘there was already a glut of translations on the market’ (Lewis, 2006, p. 251). The consensus among his advisors was that any effort at publishing paperback classics would ‘lead to commercial disaster’ (Edwards, Hare, Robinson, 2008, p. 8). However, when Lane was approached by Rieu (1887-1972) – managing director for Methuen Books in Britain between 1923 and 1936 (Connell, 2004) – with a new translation of Homer’s *Odyssey*, Lane dismissed the advice he had received and proceeded to publish it regardless.⁷³

During his Methuen period, Rieu had rediscovered his enjoyment of classical scholarship (ibid.),⁷⁴ re-reading the *Odyssey* and translating it aloud to his wife. What began as an evening pastime assumed written form and, by the end of the Second World War, Rieu had offered his translation to Lane. On the basis of the first two chapters, Lane authorised to publish Penguin’s first classic translation (Platt, 2008, p. 8). It is this

⁷³ Russell Edwards, author and contributor to the Penguin Collector’s Society, argues that Lane’s apparent rashness ‘added piquancy to the series [...], with Allen Lane flying in the face of the advice of the literary and commercial experts and backing his own judgment – with triumphant success’ (2008, p. 141).

⁷⁴ Rieu was a classics graduate of Balliol College, Oxford (Connell, 2004).

book which became the figurehead of the Penguin Classics series, selling more copies than any other Penguin book until *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in 1960 (ibid., p. 9) and re-awakening the nation's interest in classic literature from around the world.⁷⁵ In terms of professional positioning, with a past in editorship and a wartime present in translation, Rieu represents an interesting figure.

On 19 October 1944, Rieu wrote to Lane notifying him that he would be able to devote one day a week as General Editor 'of your new Translation Series from the Greek, Latin and other classics' (Hare, 1995, p. 186). There is a sense of great anticipation in his letter. Ahead of his 1 November start date, Rieu reveals that he has already compiled a list of forty Greek and Roman authors to be included in the series, that he has plans for a similar list of French authors, and is ready to set 'one or two Scandinavian translations afoot' (ibid.). Explaining that he might consult friends over which books should feature on the French list, Rieu reveals his own wish for a network of advisors. His letter just two days later to Kitto testifies as such:

Any comments you may care to make on my lists will be most welcome, and I shall be particularly grateful for any help you can give me in finding first-class men (possibly among the younger scholars not yet clear of the war) who are likely to be fired with the idea. What a chance! (Rieu, 21 October 1944)

The unprecedented success of Rieu's own translation⁷⁶ not only secured the drive for an expanded Penguin Classics series, but also positioned Rieu as an ideal in-house reviewer of the Penguin Classics translations, setting his personal benchmark for general Penguin translation practice. He elucidates some of his key considerations in his early correspondence with Kitto. In his letter of 21 October 1944, he restricts himself to just one point, that Kitto use 'the bare minimum of footnotes, if any', adding:

I think I can say without immodesty that, in my Homer, I have succeeded in telling them all they need to know in my fairly long introduction. It is the translator's job to make the text explain itself, remembering always that it is not erudition we want to teach but appreciation. (Rieu to Kitto, 1944)

Rieu expands further in his next letter to Kitto of 4 November 1944:

In the past there has been too much translation by scholars for scholars, resulting in a weird kind of Greek-English (Butcher and Lang is an excellent text-book of Homeric idiom and syntax). The principle was not accepted that it

⁷⁵ Platt is more effusive still about the impact on the general readership of Rieu's *The Odyssey* translation and the Penguin Classics series: '[...] he [Rieu] made possible wondrous voyages, far more extensive than those of Odysseus with whom Rieu's name will for ever be linked' (2008, p. 9). Effusions like this nurture the 'legendary' aspect of the Penguin Classics series' reputation.

⁷⁶ According to Platt, 'over three million copies were sold', and the book 'remained Penguin's best seller for 16 years until *Lady Chatterley's Lover* appeared in 1960' (2008, p. 9).

is a translator's duty not only to render the words of his original but also, where they are recalcitrant, the syntax and idiom. If he fails here, he defeats his own purpose and creates an impression which was not created on the readers or audience of the Greek.

Rieu's initial expectations of a Penguin Classics translation are outlined more publicly in July 1946 in a copy of *Penguins Progress*. The extract announces the arrival of the Penguin Classics series and not without an air of momentousness: the July issue marks Penguin's re-launch of *Penguins Progress* after a six-year absence during the paper-rationed second-world-war years:⁷⁷

The first volume of our new Classics series, the editor's translation of *The Odyssey*, appeared in January. The series is to be composed of original translations from the Greek, Latin and later European classics, and it is the editor's intention to commission translators who could emulate his own example and present the general reader with readable and attractive versions of the great writers' books in good modern English, shorn of the unnecessary difficulties and erudition, the archaic flavour and the foreign idiom that renders so many existing translations repellent to modern taste. (Rieu, 1946, p. 48)

Ever committed to the aspiration of 'good, modern English', Rieu reiterates more developed views on the translator's priorities in his next *Penguins Progress* contribution, 'Translating the Classics', in October 1946. During this short article, he introduces the one general principle which he has 'hammered out' (p. 37) and to which 'I pin my faith and from which I deduce all minor rules and decisions' (ibid.), namely the principle of equivalent effect. In another *Penguins Progress* essay, 'The Faith of a Translator' (1950), Rieu (a harbinger of Eugene Nida, who was beginning his translation career around this time) returns to discuss the significance of his translation theory on his practice. He admits that:

[...] when I had finished the work [Homer's *Iliad*] and came to revise it, I found that there had once more fallen on my shoulders, I will not say the mantle of Lang, Leaf and Myers,⁷⁸ but at least its shadow; and I had to rewrite the first few books in what I trust is English and not Greek'. (Reproduced in Edwards, Hare, Robinson, 2008, p. 118)

Rieu's analysis crystallises while in an interview in 1953 with his co-translator, J.B. Phillips, and Rev. E.H. Robertson conducted for the BBC. Regarding the Penguin publication of his translation *The Four Gospels*, Rieu is asked whether, during the course of his project, he has 'worked out careful principles of translation?' (Rieu and Phillips,

⁷⁷ *Penguins Progress*, <<http://www.penguinfirsteditions.com/index.php?cat=mainPPProgress>> [Accessed 04 October 2016].

⁷⁸ Andrew Lang, Walter Leaf and Ernest Myers were translators of Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad* during the late nineteenth century.

1955, p. 153). In his response, Rieu identifies only one, the ‘principle of equivalent effect’, and defines it as the ‘lodestar of the translator’s art’ (ibid.). Rieu explains that ‘the translation is the best which comes nearest to giving its modern audience the same effect as the original had on its first audiences’.⁷⁹ He cites an example where, to translate literally the French endearment *mon chou* as ‘my cabbage’ (ibid.), fails entirely in producing an equivalent effect on the target reader. Throughout his career, Rieu is consistent in his view, therefore, that literal translation neglects crucial attention to equivalence and results in an overly Homeric idiom and syntax. Whilst he continues to discuss paraphrasing as an acceptable, and often desirable, vehicle for achieving equivalence, he is categorical that the text should not be reduced to a ‘lower standard of English in order to make things crystal clear’, otherwise ‘we’re going beyond our jobs as translators’ (ibid., p. 154). Rieu’s perception of the ‘good’, ‘Penguin’ translation strikes a steady, reliable balance between accuracy, authenticity, and accessibility, and has its roots in translation history with John Dryden’s recommendation for paraphrase where ‘the author is kept in view by the Translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly follow’d as his sense, and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not alter’d’ (1680, p. 38).

It is clear from Rieu’s *Penguins Progress* announcement that, by 1946, Lane’s and Rieu’s joint venture is well under way; the extract concludes by listing authors which will be included in the series (Homer, Xenophon, Ibsen, Chekhov, Ovid, Voltaire, Turgenev, Gorky, Maupassant) (1946, p. 48) and stating those which are already in the pipeline (Sayers’s translation of Dante’s *Inferno* (1949) and Watling’s translation of Sophocles’s *Theban Plays* (1947)). Rieu’s Medallion Titles were dominated by translations from Greek and French literature (29 and 28 translations respectively), followed by Latin and Russian literature, each with 16 translations (Edwards, Hare, and Robinson, 2008, p. 127). It is of particular interest that Russian literature should command such a high position in the early hierarchy of the Penguin Classics publications, although the reasons for such a decision are not explicitly documented in the Penguin archive. However, commercial, professional and socio-cultural factors which are likely to have contributed to a robust Russian representation range from:

⁷⁹ Whilst the nature of the principle of equivalent effect is problematic (see, for example, Munday, 2008, p. 52), many of the Russian works which were being translated at the time of Penguin were still less than one hundred years old. The original audience, therefore, might be considered close enough in time for their translator to be able to anticipate their first reactions.

Rieu's awareness of the average translation's shelf-life, with an acknowledgement that Garnett's versions were long overdue a revision; Rieu's (or his advisor Fen's) recognition of Russia's own high regard for its nineteenth-century classics;⁸⁰ a corporate, competitive awareness of which classic titles were being tackled by other publishers⁸¹ (for example, J.M. Dent's Everyman Library series included Russian titles and Magarshack also published with Faber and Faber, Allen and Unwin, Secker and Warburg); and Lane's own alleged inclination towards left-leaning politics and culture.⁸²

Whilst the list was supplemented with further translations from Italian (8), Early English (6), German (4), Middle Eastern (4), Scandinavian (4), Spanish (3), Far Eastern (3), and Portuguese (1), these were significantly fewer in number than translations from Greek, French, Latin, and Russian. Each language was given its own colour code (ibid., p. 58). Translations of Russian literature were signified by red borders on the cover and spine (see figure 4) and the front cover of each novel in the series had a specially designed black-and-white illustrated roundel, or medallion, the subject of which was intended to whet the reader's appetite and curiosity by revealing a significant moment, theme or character from the novel, and was often discussed in advance with the translator. Magarshack, for example, offered a roundel for *Oblomov* which had been specially designed by his art-student daughter Stella, but which was not used (see letter, 2 September 1953, Ref.: DM1107/L40), and Edmonds specifically requested a say over the *War and Peace* roundel designs (Ref.: DM1107/L62-63) after disapproving of the *Anna Karenin* roundel (see Rosemary Edmonds section in this chapter).

⁸⁰ Russia and Russian culture was not entirely alien to Rieu; his retirement article in the *Times* describes the journey Rieu took on the Trans-Siberian Railway at the start of the twentieth century, which included 'gate-crashing the Kremlin and catching glimpse of the Tsar' (8 January 1964).

⁸¹ Rieu notes in a letter to Glover on 29 July 1946, for example, that both *Candide* and *Madame Bovary* feature on Hamish Hamilton's list of 6/ translations (Rieu, 1946). Hamish Hamilton also published some Turgenev classics and Gogol's *Dead Souls* in the late 1940s-early 1950s. Glover replies that he is keen to 'get ahead' of Hamish Hamilton (Glover, 30 July 1946, Ref.: DM1107/L4).

⁸² Lane courted speculation throughout his career about having left-leaning political tendencies, maybe even Communist (an opinion assisted by his visit to Moscow in 1957 and by Penguin's publication, from 1944-1948, of the Russian Review series, one of the 'post-war periodicals launched [...] in the euphoria of the Allied victory' (Yates, 2006, p. 133)). According to Steve Hare, 'It was inevitable that a certain logic would dictate that since Penguin published books that inclined towards the Left, then its editors and owners must be similarly inclined' (1995, p. 71). In his book, *Penguin by Design* (2005) Phil Baines writes that '[...] Penguin, with its leftish political leanings, was seen by some to have had a role in the Labour Party's euphoric post-war election victory' (p. 17).

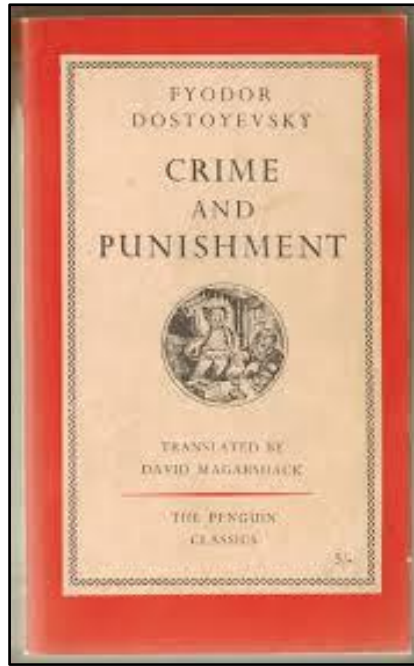


Fig. 4. David Magarshack's 1951 translation of Dostoevskii's *Crime and Punishment* [digital photograph] (author's private collection)

Whereas some of the first Penguin Books (Agatha Christie, for example) would be regarded more as popular than as 'quality' literature, the same cannot be said for the Penguin Classics series. Rieu was able (in a way that Lane was not) to combine both elements – popularity and quality – packaged at an affordable price, and playing to a post-war mood of 'relaxation, pleasure, expansion and reconstruction' (Radice and Reynolds, 1987, p. 14). This quality literature presented itself in 'rather cosy introductions and a "house style" of translation' (ibid.), however, in terms of a corporate translation style, no specific document setting out clear, in-house translation guidelines has been discovered in the Penguin archive. Rieu, nevertheless, set an unambiguous standard for translators:

Dr Rieu's object was to break away from that academic idiom in which so many of the world's classics have been put before the general reader, and to present them in contemporary English without any transgressions of scholarship or textual accuracy. (Williams, 1956, p. 19)

Translators received a clear vision about what a Penguin Classics translation should deliver to its target readers, but some translators remained uncertain about how to approach Penguin's introductions. Paul Foote, translator of Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time*, asks exactly this question of editor James Cochrane in June 1964. Cochrane's

comprehensive reply not only outlines all the ingredients for a model Penguin introduction, but also identifies Penguin's typical target reader (Letter from Cochrane to Foote, 17 June 1964, Ref.: DM1107/L176). Cochrane advises Foote to assume that his target reader knows nothing about the source author, or the book itself, and very little about Russian literature in general. He is advised to enlighten the target reader as to 'why he ought to get to know this book' (ibid.) and provide information 'which will make the acquaintance pleasant and profitable' (ibid.), including positioning Lermontov and his work in the context of European literature. The paratextual aims of this publication are noticeably different to those embodied in the 'pseudo-ethnographic' veneer lent to the first translation of Lermontov's novel in English in 1853. There are clear instructions for Foote to 'sell' the book to his target reader, to make 'the highest possible claims for it' (ibid.). Penguin introductions were intended to imbue the target reader (described by Cochrane as an 'intelligent and sophisticated adult' (ibid.)) with authoritative knowledge and enthusiasm. The introduction should be a crash-course in cultural and literary context preparing an inquisitive but uninitiated reader for something new.

In the field of production, the translator is generally regarded as an ideally positioned person to provide essential cross-cultural insight: who else could know each word and culture-specific detail in the same way as the translator? (As far as the Russian classics are concerned, there is evidence in Penguin's archived correspondence of some of the translators themselves extending the benefit of their expertise – all the while reiterating and confirming their professional credentials – by volunteering suggestions and encouraging, even it seems expecting, Penguin to publish further Russian titles.)⁸³ Privileged to act as commentators on the source author's works (an opportunity which, as we have seen, Garnett declined), the remit for a Russian Medallion Title introduction rarely encompassed a linguistic analysis of the text. Seldom does a pre-1962 Russian classic introduction discuss semantic or linguistic peculiarities of the source text or the translator's solutions. It is possible that the translators

⁸³ Magarshack prepared over a thousand pages of a book on the history of nineteenth-century Russian literature, which Penguin considered publishing as a Pelican (see letter ASBG [Glover] to Magarshack, 7 October 1953, ref. DM1107/L54) but did not, in the end (Magarshack archive, Box 9). Apparently sensing that her support at Penguin was on the wane (a realisation which Baldick himself spots and comments on in his letter to editor James Cochrane of 7 June 1966, Ref.: DM1107/L184), Edmonds suggested rounding off Penguin's Tolstoi series with the play *Power of Darkness* (ibid.) in the hope of gaining another commission. Penguin did not commission her, or any other freelancer, to translate *Power of Darkness*.

themselves veered away from such discussion, keen to hide from a critically enquiring public who might quibble with lexical or grammatical decisions or doubt the translator's judgment. However, the particulars concerning the art of translation would, in all likelihood, have been deemed to be of little interest, even to the inquisitive lay reader, during the early Penguin Classics years, when more interest was generated simply by the (re)discovery of the Russian literary canon at affordable prices.

As regards the text itself, Rieu, the bridging agent between translator and publisher, undertook the role of negotiator, matching the classic novel to be translated with the 'right' sort of translator, someone with proven skill and expertise, preferably with a flair for literary translation, and a professional bent towards Penguin's (and his own) benchmarks of readability and equivalent effect.⁸⁴ In spite of being a translator himself, though, aware of the commitment and sacrifices that a translator must make to satisfy a project and client, Rieu was also a publisher, clearly affiliated to the commercial side of the business, and it is this disposition which occasionally suppresses the translator in him and dominates his corporate actions. Rieu demonstrates savviness and company loyalty during his negotiations, as with the translation commission, for example, of Dostoevskii's *Crime and Punishment*. Rieu first introduces the Penguin Classics copyeditor, A.S.B. Glover, to the existence of Russian-English translator David Magarshack when he writes hopefully on 20 January 1949 (Ref.: DM1107/L23) that Magarshack will replace Seeley,⁸⁵ initially commissioned for the job of translating *Crime and Punishment* in 1947.⁸⁶ In his letter, Rieu states his certainty that Magarshack will 'give us an excellent and most readable Penguin Classic, better in fact than Seeley's would have turned out. He knows exactly what is wanted' (ibid.). It comes as a surprise for the impartial observer then to read in the same letter that for such excellence and, presumably, a speedy replacement translation, Rieu has offered Magarshack 'less than we offered [sic] Seeley', namely £200 in advance. Rieu continues by highlighting to Glover that Magarshack was receiving generous royalties from other publishers at that time, but that their own, less-than-generous royalty – seven-and-a-half per cent,

⁸⁴ See Rieu's statement in the July 1946 *Penguins Progress* announcement, 'it is the editor's intention to commission translators who could emulate his own example' (p. 48).

⁸⁵ Whilst Seeley's full name cannot be located in Penguin Archive correspondence, his surname and link to Russian literature suggests Frank Friedeberg Seeley, <<http://ci.nii.ac.jp/author/DA04800213?l=en>> [Accessed 04 October 2016].

⁸⁶ No reason is given but, seemingly at Seeley's instigation, the Dostoevskii contract is terminated (a lever of power reserved for either publisher or translator). Two years on from initially agreeing the Seeley contract, Penguin still had nothing to show for their investment of time.

compared to Magarshack's usual fifteen per cent from one (unidentified) publisher – will be 'compensated for by larger sales', which Magarshack accepts. On balance, though, Rieu's letter carries the overall sense that, in being offered less than the going rate of two years' previously, Magarshack has been short-changed.

A.S.B. Glover: Unconventional and Undervalued

Another key figure in the Penguin Classics network is Alan McDougall,⁸⁷ better known to Penguin as Alan Samuel Boots (A.S.B.) Glover (1895-1966), who joined the company in 1944⁸⁸ and worked alongside Rieu as a copyeditor. Just as Lane and his background can be regarded as relatively atypical among his peers in the British publishing industry, Glover too stands out as an unconventional figure. Glover never went to university, something which 'inflamed his urge to omniscience' (Lewis, 1996, p. 237). A pacifist and First World War 'absolutist', Glover was jailed for four years for conscientious objection, preferring prison rather than to offer any contribution to the war effort (Hare, 1995, p. 128). It was during his time in prison that he furthered his education.⁸⁹ Glover was nearly fifty (ibid., p. 121) when he arrived at Penguin Books and, like Rieu, was not new to the publishing industry; he had already worked for Burns & Oates, Routledge & Kegan Paul, Odhams and *Reader's Digest* and mixed in publisher circles, counting among his acquaintances Francis Meynell, the publisher of Nonesuch Press (Lewis, 2006, p. 242). Unlike Rieu, though (and later, Radice), whose Oxford and *Athenæum* credentials may well have fast-tracked his recruitment to Penguin, Glover's arrival was more circuitous and less routine: having taken it upon himself over the course of nine years to notify Penguin of all typographical and factual errors, Glover was eventually invited by Lane to join the company, partly in a bid to stem the flow of critical correspondence, but also to turn such an eye for detail to Penguin's advantage. Lane

⁸⁷ Biography references to Glover present general inconsistency over the spelling of his Christian name, at times 'Allan', at others 'Alan', a fact which is consistent, therefore, with the notion that he cultivated an air of enigma about his former life ('[...] when he was alive not even his most vigilant acquaintances could ever establish with any certainty the details of his *curriculum vitae*' (Morpurgo, 1979, p. 192).)

⁸⁸ The exact date is unclear but his tenure began in the same year as Rieu's (Yates, 2006, p. 61).

⁸⁹ According to correspondence he exchanged with T.C.N. Gibbens, Pelican author of the (unpublished) *Crime and Criminals*, this period of Glover's life was divided between Exeter, Pentonville, Durham, Wormwood Scrubs and Winchester prisons. Prison provided an opportunity for him to commit the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* to memory and to edit the prison newspaper, which was written on lavatory paper. His photographic memory and breadth of knowledge also spanned *Wisden Cricketers' Almanack*, Bradshaw's railway guide, Greek and Hebrew literatures, he was a formidable scholar of Jung and psycho-analysis, and had an ongoing interest in religion, affiliating himself over the years to Quakerism, and Catholicism, before settling on Buddhism (Hare, 1995, pp. 128-130).

wrote about this conscious decision in Glover's obituary, published in the *Times* on 8 January 1966, three days after his death:

My own acquaintance with him goes back to 1944 when I invited him to join Penguin Books so that he could apply his exceptional gifts as a scholarly reader to manuscripts rather than published books on which, as a member of our public, he used to send in detailed lists of factual errors and misprints, usually saying these had not spoiled his enjoyment of books as such. (p. 10)

Glover's tenure at Penguin began modestly, reading proofs, and evolved in the same way as other early Penguin employees: quickly and organically, and in the 'Penguin way', according to Hare (1995, p. 129). Glover 'soon became a vital part of the Penguin editorial team – sharing responsibilities and duties with Eunice Frost across the Penguin list' (ibid.), with particular influence over the Pelican and Penguin Classics series but with no specific job title. Morpurgo, Lane's General Editor for Pelican Histories and Lane's biographer (Yates, 2006, p. 95), identifies Glover as the head of a two-man copy-editing department (consisting of Glover and his secretary-assistant) (Morpurgo, 1979, p. 192), and notes that, had Glover aspired to become Lane's successor, he would have had the credentials (ibid.). Glover did not however have such drive, channelling his energies into his work and rarely joining Lane for the frequent sessions of sociable, after-work drinks (ibid., pp. 193-194).

Glover's symbolic capital was rooted in his ability to expose the factual and typographical failings of a text,⁹⁰ and in his erudition, making him 'more often than not the only member of the senior staff competent to conduct informed discussion with the authors of the many abstruse books on the list' (Morpurgo, 1979, p. 192). He also demonstrated a great respect for the text; when Glover received a letter from Nitya Nand Tiwari Kasayap, an Indian translator, on 21 August 1956, requesting permission to render Magarshack's translation of Dostoevskii's *Crime and Punishment* into Hindi, Glover's reply politely probes 'should not a Hindi translation of Dostoyevsky be made rather from the original Russian than through the medium of an English version?' (Letter from Glover to Nitya Nand Tiwari Kasayap, 22 August 1956, Ref.: DM1107/L23).

Central to the desirability and demand for Glover's capital is the fact that Lane (and his advisors) lacked, and therefore could greatly benefit from Glover's skills. Glover's impressive intellect, though, provides some explanation for the reportedly difficult relationship Lane had with Glover. Although Lane avoided socialising with

⁹⁰ He is noted for 'amiably and abundantly pointing out errors and misprints' (Yates, 2006, p. 61).

university-bred academics and expressed a preference for left-leaning, philanthropic politics – common aspects which, I maintain, might, in fact, have brought him and Glover closer together – Lane could not feel comfortable in Glover’s socially unconventional company, referring to him as, ‘Oh that old Buddhist!’ (Lewis, 2006, p. 240). Morpurgo provides his own analysis of their relationship:

Allen could never establish a comfortable relationship with Glover. As with Pevsner, so with Glover he was awed by the other man’s learning. Unlike Pevsner, Glover had no proud university title to substantiate his scholarship; he was instead almost entirely dependent on Allen for such dignities as might be granted him. Awed, suspicious, embarrassed, uncomprehending: the confusion of contradictory sentiments set Allen apart from Glover. (1979, p. 193)

To the comparatively conservative, image-conscious Lane (‘a famously natty dresser, never appearing in public without a tie’ (Lewis, 2006, p. 10)), Glover’s extensively tattooed appearance (ibid., p. 237) must have represented radical eccentricity. Whilst their relationship floundered from the mismatch of appearances and intellectual achievements, it is allegedly Glover’s unsolicited outspokenness and candour regarding the pay and conditions of fellow staff that served as a persistent and no doubt uncomfortable reminder to Lane of his moral responsibility as patron:

For younger editorial members of staff, many of whom had joined the firm straight from university, Glover was a mentor and a spokesman. Though overworked and underpaid himself, he wrote long memos to Lane on behalf of his younger colleagues, urging him not to take their good will for granted, and to provide longer holidays and better pay [...] they should, he suggested, ‘be recompensed for their work with something more concrete than kind words and smiles’. (Ibid., p. 240)

Glover also served as the key interface between the in-house Penguin Classics advisory hierarchy and the external mechanism of freelancing translators. His role is again that of intermediary, with all the challenges one might expect when trying to satisfy the upper as well as the lower echelons in a corporate hierarchical structure. Like the experienced translator Rieu, Glover the translator of medieval Latin (Thomas Aquinas) and French (Harries, 2013, p. 560) also conducted his role of commissioner with an awareness of the textual, temporal, and financial challenges facing the translator. He coupled his practical knowledge with a mindfulness of in-house expectations, making for an awkward mediator position; he fielded and pacified complaints from all angles, internal and external, while remaining professionally polite and obliging.

One example of this tension can be seen in Glover’s handling of the bill incurred by Magarshack for page-proof corrections of his translation *Oblomov*. Glover sends warning letters on both 26 and 31 March 1954 stressing the Penguin policy that

'corrections in page proofs are expensive and we do not like feeling obliged to call into operation the clause in our contracts which enables us to charge authors corrections to the author if they exceed 10% of the composition cost'. In his 'endeavour to get closer to the original text', though, Magarshack makes corrections which ultimately result in a bill for £104.19.6 (equating to £2,556.66 in today's money). Ever patient and in an attempt to soften the blow, Glover informs Magarshack by letter on 26 May 1954 that Penguin will not take full advantage of Penguin's correction costs policy, and proposes instead that Magarshack pay half, i.e. £52.9.9, out of his royalties. Even with such assistance, there is no disguising the dismay in Magarshack's response:

Your news about the cost of the corrections is terrible. This has never happened to me before. [...] I disagree with your point about the difference between an original work and a translation. It is just a translation that requires a great deal more changing. [...] I wonder if you could spread out my share of the cost corrections over two or three six-monthly periods. Otherwise I am not likely to get any royalties for a year or more. (Letter from Magarshack to Glover, 27 May 1954, Ref.: DM1107/L40)⁹¹

Ultimately, it is Glover's service as a bridge between Lane and the junior in-house staff and the dynamics of this difficult relationship that led to Glover's resignation in 1958. Glover is described as having been 'undervalued by the Penguin hierarchy' (Yates, 2006, p. 61), a claim supported not only by Lane's failure to offer Glover an official job title and his reactions to Glover's head-on challenges over general working conditions, but also by Glover's low pay and long hours. Glover's resignation letter in 1958 suggests ignorance on Lane's part for failing to recognise the work and joint effort required by Glover and his team to produce a successful series like the Penguin Classics (Hare, 1995, p. 131).

Penguin Classics after Rieu

When Rieu retired in 1964, his successors were Dr Robert Baldick (1927-1972), fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, scholar and translator of French literature with whom Rieu had discussed Penguin's Russian Classics from early on; and the Oxford University-educated classical scholar and translator, Betty Radice (1912-1985) who had worked as Rieu's assistant for five years from 1959. Baldick features for only a short period in the

⁹¹ Magarshack's response puts into rare context the finely-balanced realities of the freelance world, where the royalty pipeline is an essential feature and must be carefully maintained in order to survive the long wait between manuscript submission and actual publication (sometimes as long as two years, or more, much to Magarshack's and other Penguin freelancers' annoyance).

Russian section of the Penguin Classics archive owing to the fact that he died unexpectedly of a cerebral tumour on 24 April 1972 at the age of forty-five (Tilby, 2010). He served, however, as a gateway between Penguin Classics and Oxford scholars who could identify titles from the Russian literary canon for Penguin to translate. Baldick's opinion was also sought on the quality of translations; it is his blessing, for example, which was bestowed upon Foote's 1966 translation of Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time*,⁹² and his negative evaluation of Magarshack's 1964 Chekhov translation, *Lady with Lapdog and Other Stories*, which hurried Magarshack's career at Penguin to a close.⁹³ In addition to scholarly rigour, Baldick is also remembered for bringing a professional awareness to Penguin Books about the translator's worth. His obituary in the *Times* describes him as making sure 'that translators were paid a proper fee for what is a specialist job' (25 April 1972, p. 14).

Radice, by contrast, enjoyed a long career as the Penguin Classics editor, a role which she found herself performing on her own after Baldick's death and that of his successor, C. A. Jones, in 1974 (Radice and Reynolds, 1987, p. 12). Radice's editorship lasted twenty-one years, from 1964 until her own death from a heart attack in 1985. It is remarked several times in commentaries about this period of Penguin Classics history, that her tenure was more challenging in many respects than Rieu's, with a corporate shift in emphasis towards a more scholarly introduction and translation. Her son, William, writes at some length in his introduction to *The Translator's Art* about the difficult position she found herself in, under scrutiny from all sides:

These were demanding aims: to produce books that were authoritative works of scholarship and of high literary merit, as well as readable and appealing in the manner of the early Penguin Classics. They made Betty Radice's task far more strenuous than Rieu's, and far more open to attack, from scholars and academics on the one hand, from poets and aesthetes on the other. (Ibid., p. 22)

Radice's editorship involved having to choose between academic rigour and readability. Her son refers to the article she wrote for *The Times Higher Education Supplement* in which she states revealingly that 'I can't please everyone, and sometimes wonder if I may end by pleasing nobody but myself' (ibid.). Whilst Rieu pursued an autonomous mission of his own for readable, affordable, quality translations, a novelty in the field of

⁹² 'I consider it an excellent translation which reads very well indeed.' Baldick, quoted in an internal memo from Jim C (James Cochrane) to AG (Tony Godwin), 14 May 1965 (Ref.: DM1107/L176).

⁹³ The language of Baldick's report, which is explored in greater depth at the end of this chapter, reveals the growing tension in his (and Penguin's) relationship with Magarshack (Letter from Baldick to Mr Duguid, 21 November 1963, Ref.: DM1107/L143).

publishing which would suit and attract a nation of dedicated, knowledge-thirsty followers,⁹⁴ Radice's term as editor converged with a mood for a more scholarly *skopos*, influencing the nature of the textual rendering and the tone and content of paratextual inclusions, and reflecting the evolving characteristics and aspirations of Penguin's readership. In the introduction to her translation of Pliny's *Letters*, Radice strove to create a more instructive summary of the text. Her conscious departure from Rieu's view that 'the Penguin Classics must be free of the dead weight of scholarly apparatus' arose primarily from the demands of the end user, namely, the growing use in 'schools and university teaching [...] and the way in which readers with sophisticated literary sensitivity were expecting to find in English translations the poetic and aesthetic qualities of the original' (ibid.). Whereas Rieu's job had been to innovate, whet, and lure the cautious but curious target reader, Radice's job was to develop, instruct, consolidate, and deepen their knowledge.

As Rieu's protégée, Radice, according to her son, excelled at human interaction. Radice is described as being, like Rieu, 'meticulously courteous to all her translators and correspondents, never failing to answer letters promptly, at surprising length, and often in long hand' (ibid., p. 18). Based on the correspondence found in Penguin's Russian Classics folders, Rieu's and Radice's code of conduct was highly principled and robustly upheld, and it also suffused the practices of all those working alongside them. Even when faced with difficult letters to write, the Penguin tone is impeccably polite; when the answer is no, the message is clear but courteous; when faced with a disgruntled translator (as shown below with the challenging tone frequently adopted by Rosemary Edmonds), there is a concerted effort to pacify. There is an overriding impression of the editors generally trying to help their translators: with deadline flexibility, payment, procurement of source texts. Finally, when a translator's standard of work has slipped and a message of termination is inevitable, this task is carried out with respect too.

Having positioned Lane, Rieu, and Glover, and latterly Baldick and Radice too, as key figures in the Penguin Classics editorial hierarchy, let us now consider them in their role as intermediaries and in their interactions with the outside world of agency, namely, Penguin's freelance translators.

⁹⁴ '[...] Rieu's lead could work magic, the magic of pure, new, unfusty language, of the rediscovery of classical literature too long buried in school-books, that was almost Miranda-like in its innocence and delight' (Radice and Reynolds, 1987, p. 14).

The Corps of Penguin's Russian Translators

Translation demands an exceptional self-discipline. There can be no 'perfect' translation, even if such positive qualities required could be defined. Negative qualities are more simple to settle. But it was in these areas of fine distinction that Rieu proved to be so remarkable an editor [...]. His ability to single out appropriate books from his wide knowledge of early and foreign literature, and to contact the most suitable translators to carry out each task, was almost unique. (Edwards, Hare, and Robinson, 2008, p. 12)

As we have already seen from Rieu's correspondence with Kitto, Rieu used his network of acquaintances to source possible translators. He initially gave them an opportunity to submit sample translations, but famously rejected their efforts on the grounds that 'very few of them could write decent English, and most were enslaved by the idiom of the original language' (ibid., p. 26). Nevertheless, this was not the case with all, and archived correspondence indicates that some translator-graduates were sourced through Oxford University, perhaps through Rieu's contact with Baldick (himself an Oxford-based French scholar and translator). It is just as likely, though, that translators also sought Rieu independently, responding positively to the inviting, concluding line of his announcement in the July 1946 edition of *Penguins Progress*: 'Translations are being sought out for many other volumes covering a wide variety of literature ranging from the literature of Ancient Egypt to the closing years of the nineteenth century' (p. 48).

When Penguin launched Rieu's *The Odyssey* translation, Britain was still largely relying on Garnett's renderings of the Russian literary canon. Rieu had good conditions for re-translations of the Russian classics, therefore, but did not have a wide choice of experienced Russian-English literary translators at his disposal. With the era predating vocational training in literary translation, any knowledge of translation theory would have been self-taught, and of those whom Rieu commissioned, it is most probable that they possessed intuitive or vocational translational talent and skill. Whilst Penguin's early Russian classics translators might have acquired and used their language skills in different settings, both professional and personal, their backgrounds unanimously reflect a Europe in transition. Fen and Magarshack immigrated to the UK from a turbulent, post-revolutionary Russia; Edmonds worked as a senior wartime translator; Foote studied Russian on the inter-service course at Cambridge before working as an interpreter in Potsdam in 1946 (Meier, 2011); and Richard Freeborn worked in the RAF and post-war Potsdam, before finally moving to the British Embassy in Moscow

(Dynasty Press, n.d.). With background details such as these, it is not surprising that these individuals eventually found work transposing their language skills to the field of translation in peace-time Britain, and where better to do this than Penguin Classics, the publisher of the moment?

For Penguin's Russian Classics to succeed in disseminating Russia's literary canon, specialised and seemingly rare language skills would be required. In turn, the prospect of modern patronage, of a career riding a potential wave of Penguin commissions, would have appealed to every literary translator seeking regular and potentially lucrative work. As Rieu wrote in his letter to Kitto, 'What a chance!' (21 October 1944). The parameters of mutual dependency were set; there was enough financial and symbolic gain to benefit both parties in order to make the mutual bonds of power sufficiently tolerable. As Inghilleri cites in 'The Sociology of Bourdieu and the Construction of the "Object"' (2005), Bourdieu recognises that in embarking on work together:

[...] there must be a tacit recognition amongst players of the value of the stakes of the game – a belief that they are important and worth pursuing – and of the practical mastery of its rules. It is both players' belief in the game and their interest in its stakes that grants unquestioned recognition of the rules for both entering the game and competing for its stakes. (p. 136)

The forces exerted between the parties more or less compel each agent to keep to their side of the arrangement: the safe, timely and satisfactory delivery of a symbolic good on the one hand, in return for contractual, financial and potentially reputational benefit on the other. As much as possible, therefore, both sides must engage courteously, flexibly, punctually, even when questioning or countering an expectation, if they are to reap their desired returns and still preserve their self-worth. The reasons for translators embarking on a contractual agreement with their commissioner vary, and the nature of their professional interactions vary too, often dependent upon features in their habitus and career path.

In order to construct a deeper appreciation of their agency and their contributions, let us now analyse the microhistorical details of the earliest translators and their contractual arrangements with Penguin. Aside from a brief biographical résumé in the front pages of a Penguin Classic translation (and even then, biographies

only appear to have been included once the series was well established),⁹⁵ the Penguin Russian translators remain relatively hidden, and some are, by now, almost forgotten. They are described as having been ‘vital, but often underappreciated’ (Yates, 2006, p. 149), validating Hermans’s statement that translators are ‘hidden, out of view, transparent, incorporeal, disembodied and disenfranchised’ (2000, p. 7). The extent of documentation for each Penguin Russian translator varies but tends usually towards the scant, with the exception of Magarshack and Fen and, to a lesser extent, Edmonds who make up for the dearth in material elsewhere. The aim of the rest of this chapter, therefore, is to make ‘corporeal’ (British Library, 2017) these previously hidden early Penguin translators – in particular, Magarshack – and through their experiences, be better able to ‘understand the complex intercultural process which is translation’ (Munday, 2017, p. 3).

Gilbert Gardiner

Whilst there are no records of how Rieu and Gardiner became acquainted, and nor are there any details of how they negotiated the first Russian commission, if Rieu’s letter to Kitto is representative of these early discussions, and there is every reason to believe this to be the case, it is likely they met over lunch or at Rieu’s club.⁹⁶ Gilbert Gardiner is the first Russian translator to be commissioned by Penguin and enjoys untroubled correspondence with the Penguin editors. He raises no concerns and accepts all terms regarding his translation of Turgenev’s *On The Eve* (1950). On paper, his is a straightforward commission. It is a surprise development, therefore, to read Gardiner’s letter to Penguin from 21 April 1976, twenty-six years after the initial release of his translation, in which he states that he has missed royalties for the entire period since 1951.⁹⁷ With 40,000 copies sold during this time, Gardiner is owed a sizeable £633.48.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ For Penguin’s Russian classics, I have only been able to locate brief translator biographies in editions from the Black Cover series, which emerged from the Medallion Series and ran from 1963-c.1970 (Edwards, Hare and Robinson, 2008, p. 131).

⁹⁶ ‘On the matter of translation I only wish we could meet. Mattingly and I thrashed it out at my club the other day over a protracted lunch and he went away keen as mustard and in a few days sent me some samples of Tacitus which are not only done in sound modern English but capture much of the sombre grandeur of the original’ (Letter Rieu to Kitto, 4 November 1944, Ref.: DM1938).

⁹⁷ Letter from Gardiner to Penguin, 21 April 1976 (Ref.: DM1107/L9). The reason cited for non-payment is ‘because our Royalties Department did not have [your] address’ (Letter from Sulkin to Gardiner, 5 May 1976).

⁹⁸ A sum which equates to £3983.64 in 1976.

Gardiner's polite wait can be interpreted in two ways; in the first instance, it suggests that he is in no urgent need of these finances, that translation is not his sole means of income; and also, that Penguin's accounts are in no great rush to despatch royalties unless they have been directly asked for them.⁹⁹ According to the British Library catalogue, Gardiner translated only three books: Turgenev (for Penguin), and two books translated from German and published in 1935 on Russia and socialism. This suggests that Gardiner translated for intellectual reasons rather than financial. I identify Gardiner, therefore, as a perfect counter-example, a professional foil to Magarshack, who, as we will see, persistently reminds the Penguin staff that translation *is* his primary source of income and accounts must be settled urgently. Where Gardiner neither seeks nor provides a counterweight to the commissioning process, Magarshack, on monetary matters, more than compensates, and, it must be said, in contrast to Gardiner, never fails to chase his payments.¹⁰⁰

Elisaveta Fen

Russian-born Lidia Vitalievna Zhiburtovich (1899-1983) (Wellcome, n.d.) studied Russian Language and Literature at Leningrad University before immigrating to Britain in 1925 (Penguin, 1954). She became Lydia Jackson after marrying a British citizen in 1929, established a career for herself in child psychology during the 1930s, and gained a doctorate in psychology from Oxford University in 1949. In addition to her work in child-psychology, Jackson supplemented her career writing novels, biographies, Russian-language teaching material (*A Beginner's Russian Reader* (1942) and *A Beginner's Russian Conversation* (1944), published by Methuen), and translating Russian literature. For her literary work, she adopted the pen name Elisaveta Fen. Although her first Penguin translation appeared in 1951, a compilation of Chekhov plays (*The Cherry Orchard; Three Sisters; Ivanov*), correspondence in the Penguin and Fen archives demonstrates that Fen (see figure 5) was acquainted with Rieu in an advisory capacity from as early as 1945. At Rieu's request, she evaluated sample translations by Mrs Scott

⁹⁹ This incident is reminiscent of Agatha Christie's occasional quizzing of Lane, "Allen, isn't it about a year since I had any royalties from you?" she would ask from time to time: "I wondered whether you'd notice," he'd reply looking "half-guilty, half-mischievous" (Lewis, 2006, p. 33).

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Magarshack's letter to Glover which he ends with: 'I expect to hear from you soon about the query in my letter of January 2nd. I should like to know the total sales [sic] my two Dostoevsky books in the U.S.A., the price at which they are sold, and the accruing royalties which I do not seem to have yet received' (5 January 1954, Ref.: DM1107/L35).

for a collection of Tolstoi's short stories and the suitability of such stories for Penguin Classics (letter Fen to Rieu, 16 September 1945, Ref.: MS1394/6540); and also gave a positive assessment (17 September 1945, Ref.: MS1394/6542) of F. F. Seeley's sample translation of a chapter of *Crime and Punishment*. Rieu wrote to Fen again on 9 November 1946 to ask:

May I consult you? We have the offer from Chatto and Windus of the Constance Garnett translation of Dead Souls for my Series. Do you know this, and do you think it is so good as to make it not worth while to try for a new one? (Ref.: MS1394/6561)

Fen's reply is thorough. She summarises Garnett's translation as 'very uneven, in parts quite good, but mostly only fair, and frequently far too literal, while in details it is often grossly inaccurate' (19 January 1947, Ref.: MS1394/6564) and cites eleven related examples. Her verdict, reached with Gardiner's help,¹⁰¹ is that *Dead Souls* be either 'carefully revised [...] or the novel translated anew' (ibid.).

Rieu also asked Fen 'whether you think that Goncharov deserves a place in our list and would go down with the Penguin public' (22 July 1950, Ref.: MS1394/6591) and he sought her opinion on the quality of sample translations by James Hogarth for *Oblomov* (ibid.), M. Whittoch for Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time* (15 December 1950, Ref.: MS1394/6616), and Rosemary Edmonds for *Anna Karenin* (24 February 1950, Ref.: MS1394/6578). Fen is critical of Hogarth's and Whittoch's submissions and they are not commissioned, but we may deduce that she was undecided in her verdict about Edmonds. Her report is not included in the Penguin archive or her private archive, but Rieu takes Fen's advice to 'get her to do another passage' (Rieu to Fen, 20 March 1950, Ref.: MS1394/6588), which Fen also assesses. Rieu asks her specifically to check 'the scholarship and style of the work' (Rieu to Fen, 1 May 1950, Ref.: MS1394/). Satisfied that Fen has 'told me just what I wished to know' (22 May 1950, Ref.: MS1394/6589), Rieu sends Fen a cheque for £2.0.0. and concludes 'I propose to make an agreement with Mrs. Edmonds, after pointing out to her the slight blemishes that still occur in her work. I agree with you in thinking it most readable' (ibid.).

In his assessment of Fen's own sample translation of an act from Chekhov's *Ivanov*, Rieu is exacting. He agrees with 'a competent English scholar' that 'there

¹⁰¹ Fen continued to correspond regularly with Gardiner until his death in 1981 (letter Fen to Phyllis Gardiner, Ref.: MS1394/3966).

remains too much that is not convincing as English idiom' (8 December 1945, Ref.: MS1394/6546). He adds:

I know that Chehov [...] makes his characters say things that English people don't, and that it would be a great mistake on a translator's part to try to turn Russians into Englishmen, but I still contend that the best way to get the characters across is to make them say everything they have to say in the most English way, however foreign the sentiment may be to us. (Ibid.)

Rieu's dissatisfaction continues even after further attempts by Fen to Anglicise Chekhov's idioms. He observes that:

[...] your main weakness lies in the finer shades of English idiom. As it is exactly in this respect that we have an opportunity of doing better than anyone who has already translated Chehov, I attach the greatest importance to perfection in this respect [...]. May I suggest that you should do the work in collaboration with a first-class English scholar? (18 March 1946, Ref.: MS1394/6550)

Although Fen translated other Russian authors, Zoshchenko, Bondariev and Shvarts for other publishing houses, she translated only Chekhov's plays for Penguin, adding four more plays (*The Seagull*, *The Bear*, *The Proposal*, *A Jubilee*) to a new 1954 edition, and a final edition in 1959. Correspondence reveals that Rieu declined Fen's offer to translate Chekhov's short stories for Penguin. Rieu informs her that 'We are going slow on Russian works, apart from the 2 great works of Tolstoy and 4 of Dostoievsky's' (26 March 1957, Ref.: MS1394/6753). Just six months later, however, Rieu informs Fen of Penguin's decision to commission another translator (Magarshack) instead. Rieu writes:

I think it only fair to let you know now that we have just decided to place the work in the hands of another translator. I am afraid this news may be a disappointment to you, but you will remember that we and our advisors had something to say in criticism of the English style in which the samples were submitted. (10 September 1957, Ref.: MS1394/6754).

It seems, therefore, that Fen's most significant contribution to Penguin's Russian Classics was her early consultative role. Subsequent correspondence with Penguin (up to 1983) chiefly concerns payment of royalties, proposed re-prints of her Chekhov plays, and clarification of readers' queries over her renderings. Penguin's new generation of editorial staff wrote, for example, to ask for her comments after receiving a letter from general reader Jerome Minot (25 January 1969, Ref.: DM1107/L96). Minot, who describes himself as having 'done a considerable amount of translating', writes of Fen's translation of Chekhov's plays that 'there are certain things in this book which seem to me inexcusable'. He contests Fen's lexical choices (it should be 'estate' and not 'plantation'), transliteration ('Elena' instead of her 'Yeliena'), meaning ('What on earth does "looking out" a book mean?'), and over-domestication ('Why is the nurse called

Nanny, when every literate person knows what a Nanya or Nania is?'). Minot accuses Fen (and therefore, by association, Penguin too) of justifying 'sloppy translation' in order to 'popularize' Chekhov 'so it can be understood by people without literary knowledge'. Minot is scathing in his evaluation of Fen's work, and seemingly, of Penguin's broader mission, and the editor Cochrane (via his secretary Miss Cookman) invites Fen to comment (5 February 1969, Ref.: DM1107/L96). Fen offers concise justifications for her decisions, but saves her most vigorous defence for her conclusion, deflecting attention away from the finer points of her translation method:

The rest of his letter is just muddle-headed ravings. From all this I cannot but conclude that your correspondent [...] belongs to a fairly common category of cranks who like to pose as experts. (11 February 1969, Ref.: DM1107/L96)

I would argue that Minot, whilst boorish in his delivery, interrogates the Penguin translation process in a way which may be viewed as external 'quality control'. It is also commendable that Cochrane takes Minot seriously and directs the challenge back to Fen. However, Fen's dismissive reply is a reminder of the capital which endures in her reputation as one of Rieu's earliest advisors. Her allegiance to the company trumps all of Minot's comments and Cookman replies to Fen, 'In view of what you have said I don't think that we shall find it necessary to reply to the critic!' (14 February 1969, Ref.: DM1107/L96).



Fig. 5. Elisaveta Fen, Photographic portrait (Gerson, 1962)

Rosemary Edmonds

Rosemary Edmonds (1905-1998) worked as a translator to General de Gaulle at the Fighting France Headquarters in London, and on liberation in Paris. Having been funded by de Gaulle to study Russian at the Sorbonne after the war (Hahn, 2004), she was 'recruited' by Rieu (the details of their first meeting are not recorded) after submitting sample translations. She translated works by Tolstoi, starting with *Anna Karenin* (1954), the first re-translation in the UK since the Maudes' version in the 1920s. Like Garnett before her, Edmonds embarked on a career in Russian literary translation having never been to Russia; in the same year that her translation of *War and Peace* was published, Edmonds informs Penguin in a letter dated 4 May 1957 (DM1107/L62-63), that she has been invited to Russia for the first time.

Edmonds's lack of time spent in Russia might explain Rieu's evaluation of her first typescript. Commenting in a letter to Glover on the typescript of *Anna Karenin* (Letter from Rieu to Glover, 8 September 1952, Ref.: DM1107/L41), Rieu discusses the improvements she has made to the text at his suggestion (reading her 'stuff aloud' and consulting with native Russians) and remarks that, 'I have examined the text carefully and found it good, though I do not think she is one of our A+ translators. I have also read the introduction which is, in my opinion, a bit feeble, but not altogether rotten' (ibid.). In defence of her translation style, she explains later that she doesn't 'like tidying Tolstoy up too much' (DM1107/L109); some of her introductions are conspicuously telegraphic, though, and structurally disjointed (those to *Anna Karenin* and *The Death of Ivan Illyich And Other Stories* in particular), especially when compared to the coherent and cohesive introductions offered by translators such as Fen and Richard Freeborn.

Edmonds is, however, alert to issues which may directly influence her book sales. She requests the opportunity to discuss the medallion image for the cover of *War and Peace*, declaring the roundel on *Anna Karenin* 'a disaster' (DM1107/L62-63), possibly on account of the quality and style of the drawing (Edwards, Hare, Robinson, 2008, p. 71). She expresses an eagerness for Penguin to coordinate publication of her *War and Peace* translation with the 1956 film release featuring Audrey Hepburn, an opportunity for Edmonds to maximise book sales. She also observes when there are fewer sales of *War and Peace* Volume II, compared to Volume I. Her remark to Penguin that 'I don't like the conclusion I come to about the different figures for the two volumes of War and

Peace' (27 May 1966), pre-empts Penguin's commercial decision later, in 1982, to re-issue the novel in one volume. In this respect, Edmonds is as commercially astute as Magarshack and Fen, who also tracked book sales and requested regular royalty updates from the Penguin editors.

One feature of Edmonds's first Penguin translation which elicits an altogether more positive response from the editors is her decision to use the Anglicised form of Tolstoi's eponymous character Anna Karenin, rather than the Russian form, Anna Karenina, adopted by previous translators Nathan Haskell Dole and the Maudes. Edmonds's approach is applauded by Glover, who notes that 'if the wife of the Russian gentleman whose name you may know, had occasion to be referred to frequently in the English press, she would be called Madame Stalin and not Madame Stalina' (Letter from Glover to Rieu, 10 September 1952).¹⁰² Reading Edmonds's archived correspondence, there is a sense overall that, even had the editors disagreed with her preference for Anna Karenin, she would have doggedly stood her ground. Edmonds justifies her decisions with conviction, a forcefulness which is apparent, for example, in correspondence regarding the galleys for *The Queen of Spades and Other Stories*:

When I sent my typescript I attached a note requesting that my punctuation should not be altered. But not only punctuation but paragraphing, too, has been re-arranged; and someone has had the impertinence to 'correct' my choice of words and even delete a word here and there. [...] changes which destroy flavour and balance. (Letter from Edmonds to Miss Jean Ollington, 20 July 1961, Ref.: DM1107/L119)

The tensions which arise repeatedly for Edmonds during her time with Penguin concern 'unauthorised' changes to her text: spellings, punctuation, deletions. (As we will see in Chapter Four, Edmonds is not alone in expressing concern over alterations; Magarshack also questioned the editor's right to make changes to his text.) Presumably conscious of looming publishing deadlines, Edmonds chooses this moment to exert some of her own symbolic power over Penguin's treatment of her work. She concludes her above letter to Miss Jean Ollington with the following demand:

Of course it may be argued that my text has been improved for me; but when my i.e. and cf. become I.e. and Cf. in work for which I am responsible it is too much to bear silently. So can you tell me that this will never happen again? (ibid.)

¹⁰² Nearly twenty years later, Edmonds's and Penguin's decision to use the Anglicised form provokes a quite different response from a reader, Mrs Joan Miller, who decries Edmonds's naming strategy as 'impudence and vandalism', an accusation which Cochrane describes as 'at the very least an over-statement' (see letter from James Cochrane, 5 July 1972, Ref.: DM1107/L41).

Edmonds eventually has a specific clause written into her contract of 1 February 1966, which states that 'some commas may be altered but no dashes' (DM1107/L184); however, her tenure with Penguin terminates in 1966 when, according to exchanges in the archive, editors Baldick and Cochrane concur that the quality of her translation for a sample manuscript of Tolstoi's *The Kreutzer Sonata* has fallen below the required standard. (The sample manuscript is not included in the archive in order to assess for ourselves the extent to which Baldick and Cochrane were justified in their claim.) In his letter to Cochrane, Baldick's tone indicates a general sense of fatigue from sustained contact with Edmonds:

I have just had the enclosed piece from Rosemary Edmonds, which I fear is as stiff and stilted as we thought it would be. I cannot believe that this is all Tolstoy's fault. I have written to tell her that I will be sending it on to you: perhaps you could look at it and tell her what you decide. I really do not feel up to writing yet another letter to her. (Letter from Baldick to Cochrane, 7 June 1966)

Whilst there may have been previous merit in Edmonds standing her ground over translation and punctuation decisions, it is clear from Baldick's letter above that she has reached her limit of the goodwill usually expressed by the Penguin Classic editors. By 1966, the editors have no energy left with which to challenge her grievances and further Penguin commissions with Edmonds are not forthcoming. Edmonds's tenure at Penguin was terminated in a way that echoes the termination of Magarshack's tenure two years earlier. There is a sense from the editors' letters at this time that Edmonds and Magarshack both represent an old guard whose translation decisions are dogmatically upheld, each relying on an over-idiosyncratic translation style and outmoded turn of phrase.

Edmonds and Magarshack were of the same generation, both with proven careers dependent on their skill with words, both forceful enough as personalities to defend their positions as translators (as their correspondence shows), and both associated with the 'heavy-weights' of Russian literature, Tolstoi and Dostoevskii. As we will see in Chapter Five, both Edmonds and Magarshack developed similar approaches to characterising dialect, they both insisted on keeping their own punctuation, and made largely the same decision to Anglicise Russian naming conventions. For Edmonds, challenges to her translation practice follow her from the outset, with regular queries over punctuation, dissatisfaction with her introduction-writing and hybrid portrayal of dialect, and later, criticism of stilted syntax. One would expect Magarshack's archive to

contain a comparable volume of queries over the course of his seven large commissions and yet, it is not until his final Penguin commission that a critical reader's report challenges his practice. Given the era, one wonders if Magarshack's practice is queried less by editorial staff, and Edmonds's is queried considerably more, because of gender expectations at the time. (Edmonds is the only long-serving female translator in the series; Fen only translated Chekhov's plays, and the only other female translators in the Russian classics – Babette Deutsch, joint translator with Avrahm Yarmolinskii of *Eugene Onegin* (1964), and Jessie Coulson, translator of *The Gambler* (1966) – completed just one commission each.)

Contrary to his initial assessment of her work, however, Rieu is cited in Edmonds's obituary in *The Telegraph* on 21 August 1998 as having written to her in 1966 (the original letter cannot be located), recalling Edmonds as 'one of "my" translators who never gave me any trouble or a moment's anxiety'. It is possible that Rieu sent such warm sentiments as a gesture of sympathy to Edmonds knowing that her tenure at Penguin had finished (or would soon); or, he may simply have been looking back over his own tenure at Penguin from the nostalgic position of retirement. Rieu's (long-awaited) praise is not an isolated case, though. Henry Gifford also offers a positive verdict of Edmonds's work in his essay 'On Translating Tolstoy' (1978). He remarks that, whilst 'Miss Edmonds is sometimes lax about detail' (ibid., p. 23):

[...] her work is readable and it moves lightly and freely; the dialogue in particular is much more convincing than that contrived by the Maudes. (In Jones, 1978, pp. 22-23)

Apparently 'no seeker of public recognition' (*The Telegraph*, 1998), Edmonds was awarded the Freedom of the City of London in March 1979, but it is the endurance of her translations which best contests Rieu's early view that she was not an 'A+ translator'. Penguin published a new translation of *Anna Karenina* only as recently as 2000, forty-six years after Edmonds's version and her 1958/1962 translation of Pushkin's *The Queen of Spades and Other Stories* is still being used by Penguin, reprinted in 1968, 1978 and as an e-book in 2004.

David Magarshack

Magarshack's personal archive at the University of Leeds, along with the seven folders of correspondence in the Penguin archive and a handful of letters held in the Special Collections archive at the University of Manchester, has provided a surprising amount of

material with which to work. A hoarder of letters, reviews, notes, photographs, theatre programmes, and articles, Magarshack left behind a range of professional markers which show him to be a man of talent, consciously drawing on his capital and contacts to ensure success. Through Magarshack, and to a lesser extent the other early translators, it has been possible to analyse closely the dynamics of a freelance translator's relationship with Penguin and to demonstrate 'the types of collaborations and frictions in the translation process' (Munday, 2017, p. 3). Magarshack's archive provides evidence of the influences over his agency – habitus, a complex set of personal dispositions, capital, and patronage – when producing a commissioned work.

Magarshack (see figure 6) was born in Riga in 1899 and he died from lymphoma in 1977 after a period of ill health (Magarshack, 2015). He was educated at a Russian secondary school, immigrated to England in 1920 and was naturalised as a British citizen in 1931 (Dostoevskii/Penguin, 1951, Frontispiece). As a Jew, Magarshack, according to his daughter, Stella, faced repressive anti-Jewish education regulations which were imposed on students at that time in Russia and would have prevented him from pursuing higher education there. Magarshack's prime motivation for leaving Russia, therefore, was to advance his education (Magarshack, 2015). When he arrived in the UK, he undertook an evening course in English Language and Literature at University College London, from where, four years later, he graduated with a second-class honours degree on 22 October 1924 (Magarshack, Box 23). On graduation, Magarshack 'traveled a few blocks to Fleet street [sic] and there learned the trades of English journalism, as reporter and subeditor' (*Chicago Tribune*, 20 October 1963). Magarshack summarises his journalistic credentials in detail in three letters, sent between June 1928 and November 1929, when seeking full-time employment at the *Manchester Guardian*.¹⁰³ As the letters confirm, his English was of a suitably high standard to be able to make a career from writing:

My journalistic career has now stretched over a period of seven years, during which time I worked on the staff of a London News Agency, was Literary Editor of an English daily published overseas, was contributor of articles to the American press, was Editor of 'Foreign Affairs', in full charge of the paper, and am now under an agreement to write bi-weekly editorials for the Christian Science Monitor [...] (Letter from Magarshack to Mr Bone, 12 November 1929)

Decades later, *John O'London's Weekly* returned to the subject of Magarshack's language skills, 'For many years he has written as fluently in English as in Russian, though he still

¹⁰³ Magarshack submitted articles but never worked as an editor for the *Manchester Guardian*.

speaks with a slight accent' (22 February 1952), and 'Now, Mr Magarshack is very Russian as well - by birth and upbringing, and yet thoroughly adept at writing clear and cogent English' (14 March 1953).



Fig. 6. David Magarshack, (n.d.)
© Magarshack archive.

Magarshack wrote four crime novels in English, three of which were published in the 1930s by Constable & Co. Ltd.: *Big Ben Strikes Eleven* (1934); *Death Cuts a Caper* (1935); *Three Dead* (1937). Attempts to echo Dostoevskii's style – both in terms of theme and description – are recognisable in Magarshack's style and are indicative of his self-perception as not just a crime-writer, but one with literary aspirations here in the UK. There are significant plot references to overdue rent (*Death Cuts a Caper*), Porfiry-inspired Superintendents in all three novels, and in his first novel, *Big Ben Strikes Eleven*, detailed Dostoevskian-style discussion of characters blessed and burdened with genius:

Every genius was no doubt self-centred, every genius was in the first place a sublime genius, especially where his own work was concerned, but while civilisation could and should put up with the small annoyances and provocations of its men of genius for the great benefactions which they conferred on the whole human race, could it afford to tolerate a genius whose egotism was so all-embracing, whose appetite was so all-devouring, that he needed the whole of humanity to appease his hunger? (1934, p. 29)

In terms of descriptive style, Dostoevskii's influence can also be detected in the opening line of the same book:

The discovery of Sir Robert Boniface's body on the floor of his blue limousine was made quite accidentally *on a sultry Friday evening towards the end of June*. (Ibid., p. 1) (my italics)

Compare with the opening line of *Crime and Punishment*, the source text of which Magarshack would have been familiar with, and which he himself later translated for Penguin as:

On a very hot evening at the beginning of July a young man left his little room at the top of a house in Carpenter Lane, went out into the street, and, as though unable to make up his mind, walked slowly in the direction of Kokushkin Bridge. (1951, p. 1) (my italics)

Much to his disappointment (Magarshack, 2015), even with stylistic and thematic nods to Dostoevskii and a positive review by Dorothy L. Sayers ('This is really a very jolly book, with sound plot, some good characterisation, a number of thrills, and everything handsome about it.'),¹⁰⁴ Magarshack's career as a novelist did not take off. The literary and financial capital which he had anticipated failed to materialise. His novel-writing presented an opportunity, though, for him to explore and fine tune the interplay of British dialects and the application of idiomatic turns of phrase, fixed expressions and proverbs, which he recorded and practised in notebooks included in his personal archive (Ref.: MS1397). Financial need provided the greatest motivation for him to shift his focus towards translation (see Appendix 2 for a list of Magarshack's book-length publications).¹⁰⁵ Magarshack's professional relationship with Rieu began in 1949 with his first Penguin commission, Dostoevskii's *Crime and Punishment*. It is unclear how they knew each other but it may have been through a mutual connection with Sayers, Penguin translator of Dante's *Inferno* and reviewer of Magarshack's *Big Ben Strikes Eleven*.

¹⁰⁴ Sayers's review of *Big Ben Strikes Eleven* appears in the blurb of his second published novel, *Death Cuts a Caper* (1935).

¹⁰⁵ Married with four children, money was scarce and, according to his daughter, David and his British wife, Elsie Duella, received little support from relatives (Magarshack, 2015). Magarshack's own parents had no further contact with him once he had emigrated and, from the outset, he was regarded by Elsie's ambitious, working-class, Yorkshire parents as an undesirable match (ibid.). Howarth-born, grammar-school educated Elsie (1899-1999) won a scholarship to read English at Cambridge University (Magarshack, 2014). She met Magarshack at a 'students' Christian meeting club' (ibid.) in London, and they shared a passion for English (a factor in their relationship which later became crucial to Magarshack's literary success). When she married the man her parents called 'the foreigner' (Magarshack, 2015), Elsie's parents were greatly disappointed; they never accepted their son-in-law 'because he never earned any money' (Magarshack, 2014). In a letter seeking employment at the *Manchester Guardian*, he describes himself as being 'glad of anything at present, for I am rather in a tight corner' (12 September 1928). Elsie earned some money by home-coaching students for university (Magarshack, 2014) and David worked from home but 'earned nothing until the end of the war when he started translating Russian literature which he loved' (ibid.).

It is evident from the assertive tone he adopts in his letters that, from the outset, Magarshack's relationship with Penguin was one of clearly delineated mutual dependency. He is no subservient operative; he stands his ground and exerts symbolic power whenever required. Whereas Edmonds exerted *linguistic* power over the Penguin editors, insisting that she knew best when it came to the text, there is no evidence to suggest that she ever called into question her terms and conditions. By contrast, Magarshack regularly challenged Rieu and Glover over both payment and, to a lesser extent, textual matters. In Rieu's introductory letter to Glover of 20 January 1949, he explains that Magarshack 'lives by his translations', and adds, with a suggestion of caution, that he 'has published translations from the Russian with other publishers and has several new ones in the hands of various firms (Faber's, Lehman, etc [sic]). They deal generously with him'. We may presume from this that, in their initial meeting, Magarshack offered Rieu this information himself in a bid to increase his negotiating power, a position which is reiterated in Magarshack's first letter to Glover. Dissatisfied that Glover appears to be reneging on Rieu's terms, Magarshack spells out his views:

There is no question of approval at all. I am not an amateur, and my books have been published and are due to be published by well-known publishing houses including Allen & Unwin, Faber & Faber, and John Lehmann. Penguin Books, too, will be publishing a long contribution by me in the next issue of New Writing. Mr Rieu was in complete agreement with me about this question of approval. [...] I hope to hear from you without delay, as, following Mr Rieu's assurances, I have already begun the preliminary work on the book. (Letter from Magarshack to Glover, 3 March 1949, Ref.: DM1107/L23)

Magarshack's overriding message is that it would take little for him to take his symbolic capital elsewhere, where it (and he) will be properly appreciated. Aware of Seeley's terminated contract, which would already have put Magarshack in a powerful negotiating position, this tactic of showing demand for his talents plays to Magarshack's strengths. Given how few UK-based Russian-English linguists there were, Magarshack's credentials were ideal for Penguin to keep commissioning him, thereby extending their repertoire of Russian classics and increasing their financial capital. Knowledge of this position clearly did not escape Magarshack, who hints at his cultural, symbolic power – along with his position and ability to play one publisher off against another – throughout his correspondence with the Penguin editors.

Magarshack's drive to assert his position is particularly evident in his letter to Glover of 18 June 1952 (Ref.: DM1107/L35). Having submitted the typescript for Dostoevskii's *The Devils*, Magarshack requests his final advance of £50 for the

typescript, but also requests an advance on royalties from sales of *Crime and Punishment*; this time his tone is insistent. At some length – and it is clear from the chronology of correspondence that he has already discussed this request – Magarshack reiterates all the reasons why he *must* break with Penguin's set terms and receive his royalties before the designated annual pay-out. The careful construction of his argument is worth quoting at length; it reveals the multiple angles of persuasion at Magarshack's disposal which he employs in order to endorse his claim and reinforce his position:

You say you are always willing to stretch a point, and it seems to me that in the circumstances you could stretch another point for me, especially if all I ask for is to let me have some of the royalties already received. If there are no royalties, then there is nothing to be done about it.

I have now to sit down to do a translation of OBLOMOV, which is one of the greatest works of art in Russian literature and is written in a style that is not as slapdash as Dostoyevsky's. It will require a tremendous lot of concentration and careful adaptation of an appropriate English style. I told you in my last letter that I feel that before I sit down to it I simply must have a decent holiday. It is therefore in your interest as well as mine to make things easier for me. (Letter from Magarshack to Glover, 18 June 1952)

Magarshack's letter concludes with the added note of concern about the absence of copies of *Crime and Punishment* in his local bookshop, Wilson's in Hampstead, for this too will impact upon his royalties. Whilst always impeccably polite to his clients, Glover vents his personal frustrations and feelings in a letter on this subject to Rieu saying that Magarshack 'is in a frantic hurry for money and wants to get the balance of the advance payable of which he has already had more than he is entitled to' (Letter from Glover to Rieu, 17 June 1952). He continues in his understated way, 'I am getting very tired of Mr Magarshack. I know it is my duty as a Buddhist to help the needy, but he seems so very needy all the time.' Magarshack's persistence works however, and Penguin obligingly meets him part way with a promise to advance an approximation of his dues by the end of July. In contrast to Gardiner, Magarshack's business acumen is ever present. As he makes quite clear, he cannot afford to be obediently subservient. Magarshack's habitus – the turn-of-the-century Russian immigrant turned professional writer and translator, with a family to support – determines the tone, the expectations and the boundaries of his agency. He repeatedly shows signs of pushing back at the commissioner, of turning cultural and linguistic capital into economic and symbolic capital.

Nor does Magarshack restrict his sphere of influence simply to the UK. It is of particular interest to this research project that – at a time when East-West relations were becoming increasingly polarised – Magarshack increased his chances of success by keeping one foot in the West, and the other in Russia.¹⁰⁶ Whilst the contents of Magarshack's archive offer none of his political views on the Cold War (according to his daughter Stella, Magarshack was areligious and, it would seem, apolitical too (Magarshack, 2015)), they do reveal that he actively sought and cultivated a relationship with the Soviet Union's literati and enjoyed the praise and acknowledgement he received from his former countrymen, affirmation by literary peers from across a difficult political divide.¹⁰⁷ Regularly reminded – professionally and personally – of his foreignness here in the West, it seems hardly surprising that Magarshack strove for some recognition and acceptance from his native land. What is surprising, though, given the anti-exile mood of the Soviet years, is that Magarshack received due acknowledgement. Magarshack did not just receive affirmation from Professor Morozov at the All-Russia Theatre Society conference on 10 November 1944 (see letter from Kislova, 10 February 1945) for his translations into English of Ostrovskii, he also received printed praise and publicity from within the USSR in articles published in *Komsomolskaia pravda*, *Izvestia* (Kislova, 10 February 1945), and *Literaturnaia gazeta* (9 December 1944), years before he attracted any such interest or recognition by the British media.

¹⁰⁶ At the very start of his translating career in 1944, Magarshack sent the USSR Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and Professor Morozov, the renowned Soviet scholar of Shakespeare, his translation of Ostrovskii's comedies for their evaluation (Magarshack, Box 1). The translations were positively received. Morozov wrote a review which was published in *Literaturnaia gazeta* (No. 6) on 9 December 1944 under the heading, *P'esi Ostrovskogo v Anglii* ('Ostrovskii's Plays in England'), where he wrote of Magarshack's work, '*Ego perevody napisany yasnym i zhivym yazykom, yazykom pisatelya, a ne filologa*' ('His translations are written in a language that is clear and alive, the language of a writer, not that of a grammarian') (My translation). Later correspondence also reveals that he maintained contact with the USSR in the fifteen years after his Ostrovskii translations. In a letter to Mr Rosenthal, Magarshack quotes correspondence from 24 February 1960 in which Pasternak praised him for the skilful translation of his works (*I Remember: Sketch for an Autobiography* (1959)): 'Please convey to Mr. Magarshack my admiration for his masterly translation, his profound, informative Introduction, his unerring, shrewd judgment, and his quite astonishing knowledge which surpasses even mine' (29 April 1971).

¹⁰⁷ The Soviet definition of émigré writers was, however, categorical: 'a traitor or an ideological (class) enemy, hence a threat to the Soviet way of thinking and therefore was deemed unacceptable for the Soviet public' (Dienes, 2009, pp. x-xi). In practical terms, this meant that, 'Throughout the Soviet period the Russian émigré writer found it well-nigh impossible even to return home for a visit. Not only could his books not be sold in Russia, but it was a crime to possess or conspire to possess them, to circulate, import, or even make a longhand copy of them. The only acknowledgement the writer could expect if he returned home was a prison sentence ... or worse' (Glad, 1999, p. 297).

Coming from a respected figure in the Soviet literary, academic circuit, Morozov's positive review provided Magarshack with a tangible benchmark for his work and, no doubt, an appreciated boost to his sense of self-worth. It is telling, however, that Morozov described Magarshack as the '*talantlivyi angliiskii pisatel*' ('the talented English writer'), deliberately overlooking or genuinely failing to realise Magarshack's Russian birth (this seems unlikely, however, given Magarshack's easily identifiable Russo-Jewish surname). By identifying Magarshack as English, Morozov is confirming to Magarshack that his is a UK, not a Soviet-born career and reputation. Arguably, though, by courting the commercial West and the Soviet East, Magarshack captured the best of both worlds for him and his career, a Russian literary translator making a living and forging a reputation in the West, whilst maintaining contact and kudos with the USSR. He was able, therefore, to secure a steady flow of repeat business at Penguin with none of the spectre of Soviet censorship or possible punishment.

His last Penguin translation was Chekhov's *Lady with Lapdog and Other Stories*, published in 1964. It was initially commissioned on the assumption that it would be the first of three volumes of Chekhov short stories. However, completion of Magarshack's final commission coincided with the era immediately preceding Rieu's retirement from Penguin Classics, and his manuscript was handled rather differently by Baldick in his role as Advisory Editor. A reader's review is supplied for the *Lady with Lapdog* typescript, the only one to be found in Magarshack's folders in the Penguin archive. In the anonymous reader's comments (included in a letter from Robert Baldick to Mr. Duguid, 21 November 1963, Ref.: DM1107/L143), eight pages of handwritten questions are produced concerning Magarshack's style and accuracy, ranging from awkward syntax to 'stilted, unnatural speech', tautology and lexical selection, transposition of phrases, tenses and adjectives, and most frequently of all, mis-conveyed sense. Baldick's summary to Penguin colleague David Duguid of the reader's points, having checked them with Magarshack, also alludes to Magarshack's reaction. The delay in checking the typescript is partly because 'it has been difficult to get a reply out of Magarshack' (ibid.), and Baldick's choice of language thereafter intimates the awkwardness of his exchange with Magarshack, who has replied 'with great indignation', or is 'very indignant'. Baldick describes him as "retorting" to one of their queries (ibid.).

It comes as no real surprise to learn that further volumes of Chekhov are not commissioned, as James Cochrane's follow up letter to Duguid confirms:

Chekhov: Selected Tales

I have sent the manuscript of this Classic through to Production with the above provisional title. I have marked it provisional because it would probably give rise to difficulties if a second or third volume was produced. (There was no contract for another volume with Magarshack. It was assumed when the first contract was made that he would do another volume but he has since fallen out of favour). [sic] (24 January 1964, Ref.: DM1107/L143)

Magarshack's relationship with Penguin came to a close, therefore – a casualty perhaps of Rieu's retirement in the same year and of the new academic rigour of Baldick's and Radice's Penguin Classics (Radice and Reynolds, 1987, p. 22) – but his career did not. Instead of retirement, Magarshack's post-Penguin years represent a transition from translator and biographer to translation theorist, which I will consider in the next chapter.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how the mid-twentieth century's field of translation and publishing proceeded from Heinemann and Garnett, with literature in translation generally gathering new momentum through the launch of Rieu's *The Odyssey* and the Penguin Classics series, but, more importantly, with Russian literature assuming a significant position within that series. This chapter sees the corporate structure of Penguin's publishing house organising itself operationally, introducing the necessary institutional frameworks in order to approach the Penguin Classics series in a strategic and considered way. Whereas the early interest in promoting Russian literature in translation was dependent largely on the dedication of individuals or fortuitous partnerships, as shown in Chapter Two, Penguin actively introduces well-supported mechanisms (from Lane's selection of editors and designers to the editors' selection of suitably skilled translators and advisors) to ensure that some of the best expertise and knowledge of the day lend their combined weight to producing a broad, commercially attractive library of classics.

In this chapter, I have followed Munday who recommends analysing historical, archived sources as a way of investigating the sociological factors behind agency such as the 'conditions, working practices and [the] identity of translators and [...] their interaction with other participants in the translation process' (2014, p. 64). Munday's empirical approach here, a development of Bourdieu's more conceptual approach to the sociology of translation, seeks to 'shed light on the bigger picture of the history of

translation in specific socio-historical contexts' (Munday, 2014, p. 65) and, with a shared interest in the interplay of agents, both Munday and Bourdieu can be considered sociological in nature. Through an historical approach, analysing the Penguin archive's Russian folders and private papers in the Leeds Russian archive – specifically the content which relates to the individual motivations, backgrounds, and expectations of those producing the Penguin Classics series – I have interpreted Penguin's Russian editor-translator working relationships in a sociological way. I have revealed that there was a surprising degree of autonomy in the Penguin Classics microcosm, which Rieu, in particular, enjoyed during his editorship. Lane's trust in Rieu's proven capabilities – as a commercially-minded editor and a translator – enables Lane to delegate the Penguin Classics series to Rieu, a move which is liberating not only for Lane, but for the future of the series too. Unlike Lane's early, failed, attempt at producing the Illustrated Classics series, the Penguin Classics series flourishes under Rieu's expertise and network of specialist connections.

Penguin's era of Russian classics represents the sort of success which can be achieved through balanced collaboration, where allowances are made on both sides, by the editor and the translator, for their own benefit and that of the project. Whilst driving a hard, commercial deal (as with Magarshack's *Crime and Punishment* contract, for example), Rieu's consistent professionalism, his careful commitment to a target text, and impeccable politeness earned him the greatest respect. Glover matched a critical eye for errors and inconsistencies with an impressive capacity to understand the translator's need for deadline flexibility, the translator's desire to produce a perfect text yet risk crippling correction costs, and the translator's difficulties of juggling cash flow while waiting on royalties. I believe that the editors' ability, born out of first-hand experience, to relate to the translator's world, generated not just appreciation, but immense loyalty to the series amongst the early Russian classics freelancers.

For the freelancers, especially the energetic and engaged ones like Magarshack and Edmonds, Penguin represented a reliable employer with dynamic prospects for individual and corporate achievement. In contrast to Garnett, who seems to have lacked the leverage to convert her literary and linguistic capital into satisfactory economic capital, the Penguin freelancers are also considerably more involved and, in some cases, though not all, forceful in their contractual negotiations (payment of advances and royalties, deadlines, corrections). There is a far greater sense by the mid-twentieth

century that freelancers were able to make Penguin work for them and their interests (flexible, home working; employment allowing application of their specialist language skills; the prospect of repeat business) just as much as Penguin was able to get the most out of them too. With a group of freelancers commissioned to cover a variety of different Russian authors, the Penguin Classics editors were also able to secure certain flexibilities: they could manage production time and the flow of publications; they could offer interrupted and/or terminated contracts to other freelancers for completion;¹⁰⁸ they could call on translators to peer review typescripts. From their editorial remove, Rieu and Glover were able to oversee in-house stylistic requirements of translation equivalence, accessibility and readability, thus completing their final act of agency: the bridge between Penguin the publisher and the paying customer, the outside reader.

¹⁰⁸ For example, Seeley's terminated *Crime and Punishment* contract is offered to Magarshack (Ref.: DM1107/L23). The contract for a translation of Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* was first given to Gardiner but, after three years, Edmonds is commissioned instead (Ref.: DM1107/L147). There is no correspondence in the Penguin archive which details reasons for changing translator.

Chapter Four: David Magarshack, The Translator as Translation Theorist

Introduction

The purpose of the next two chapters is to utilise more detailed archival source material in order to move the sociological notion of habitus beyond biographical data and to offer what Simeoni calls a ‘finer-grain analysis’ (1998, p. 33) of David Magarshack and his work, with occasional references to Rosemary Edmonds too, as an equally productive translator in the early Penguin Russian corps and the best placed to provide further comparative insight. Bourdieu-inspired translation scholars (Simeoni (1998) and Meylaerts (2006)) have appealed for more of this approach – sociologically-informed archival analysis – in order to ‘investigate how translators, as historical subjects translating for other historical subjects, are implicated in this history [of translation]’ (ibid.). The following case study applies a sociological approach to Magarshack’s archival material, therefore, analysing the intellectual background to his habitus, the dispositions which might have influenced his views on translation and shaped his practical approach to translation at Penguin.

Habitus is defined following Bourdieu in Meylaerts’s article ‘Conceptualizing the Translator as a Historical Subject in Multilingual Environments’ (2006) as an internalised system of dispositions which:

[...] engender practices, perceptions, and attitudes [...]. Under the influence of its social position and its individual and collective past, every cultural actor thus develops (and continues to develop) a social identity: a certain representation of the world and of his position therein. (p. 60)

Chapter Four investigates Magarshack’s ‘social identity’, exploring his position in the field of translation both as a practitioner and latterly as a theorist. This chapter analyses his dispositions (intellectual and emotional responses to the ambiguities presented by émigré life and language; his sense of entitlement at translating the Russian classics and annoyance at Garnett for achieving this feat first, as well as criticism of her language abilities) and the manifestations of these dispositions in his translation theory. Chapter Four offers, therefore, a detailed, historically- and sociologically-informed analysis of the way Magarshack’s personal circumstances may be read as relating to his theory of translation. This research project has had the benefit of access both to Magarshack’s personal reflections on translation and to his translated texts. The natural progression from analysing his ‘mental apparatus’ in this chapter is, therefore, to conduct a

traditional textual analysis in the next chapter (Chapter Five) which will enable an investigation into these 'surface manifestations' (textual indicators of Magarshack's habitus, intellectual preoccupations, and commitment to Penguin's institutional aspirations). Chapter Five, extending beyond the agent-focused norms of the sociological turn, capitalises on details extracted from archives in order to facilitate an holistic (agent- *and* text-based) analysis of Magarshack's 1955 Penguin translation *The Idiot*.

A Man of Contrasts and Contradictions

I use a close study of Magarshack's private papers in order to locate him and his achievements in the European translatorial landscape of the 1950s-60s. This will help to construct a more detailed picture of the field of translation during his era. Bourdieu recommends the same approach in his analysis of Flaubert's contribution to France's literary field, namely that 'one can only understand what happens there if one locates each agent [...] in the relationships with all the others' (1993, p. 181). Even though Magarshack's theoretical work went unpublished, it was the result of decades of professional practice and is, therefore, an informed reflection of their context. Aside from establishing the extent to which Magarshack conformed to and deviated from translation norms, I would also like to use this chapter to validate his reputation as a man of multiple talents who stood out from his peers, not just as a translator of note, but as a cross-cultural translation theorist and a keen advocate for raising the literary translator's status.

For many readers throughout the second half of the twentieth century, Magarshack's translations were synonymous with good quality, readable Russian classics. Inspiring as he did not only generations of Anglophone lay readers, but also Russian undergraduates in English-speaking universities and even national servicemen on the Cambridge Russian programme,¹⁰⁹ it is surprising that Magarshack has, on the whole, attracted little recognition or discussion in literary reviews, criticisms, and handbooks of Russian literature in translation. Complimentary endorsements of his Penguin translations exist which are suggestive of his cultural importance. For example, Anthony Powell writes in *Punch* that 'David Magarshack has revolutionised the reading

¹⁰⁹ Based on personal and shared experiences as an undergraduate; and reminiscences of the Cambridge Russian Programme (Briggs email to C McAteer, 18 August 2014).

of Dostoyevsky's novels in English by his translations that have appeared during the last few years... for years I was rather an anti-Dostoyevsky man, owing to the badness of the translations, but now there is an excellent translator in Magarshack' (2 April 1958).

Magarshack's archive includes cuttings from many articles reviewing his work. The following extracts (located in Box 17 of his personal collection) show a cross-section of reviews; it should be noted, however, that Magarshack may have been selective about the cuttings he kept, preserving only the positive ones:

The editor of Penguin Classics is to be congratulated on having chosen Mr. Magharshack [sic] as the translator of "Crime and Punishment". Mr. Magharshack is well known as the translator of Dostoyevsky's minor works, and, if his latest version is more colloquial than those of the standard translations in which we first read this electrifying, titanic, novel, it will help materially to convince new readers of Dostoyevsky that he did not write for highbrows but that he is as homely as Dickens, with whom he has striking affinities. Mr Magharshack makes his translation easier for the ordinary reader by simplifying the names of the characters so that we recognise Mrs. and Miss. Marmelador [sic] much more readily than if, as previous translations did, he had called them Catherine Ivanovna and Sophia Semenovna. *Yorkshire Observer* (Bradford), 13 Dec 1951

But now that a dramatised version of Oblomov has been broadcast, there should be a demand for the Penguin translation of Goncharov's novel of that name. It is by David Magarshack. The present generation is to be accounted fortunate in having so good a translator of Russian and in being able to buy a book like this for 3s 6d. *The Scotsman*, 14 October 1954

With the publication of his *Brothers Karamazov* (Penguin, 2 vols. 12s) Mr. Magarshack completes his translation of Dostoevsky's four major novels and puts into the hands of English readers a workmanlike version of Dostoevsky's most celebrated production. The publication of Constance Garnett's version of the novel in 1912 was a landmark in the assimilation of Russian culture in England, heralding a decade in which the English vogue for Russian literature soared to a high level of hysteria. With all its faults this translation has maintained itself in public esteem for forty-six years. Mr. Magarshack's version is unlikely to cause a similar furore, but there seems no good reason why, in its turn, it should be superseded before the year 2004. *The Listener*, 20 Mar 1958

The BBC Genome project database¹¹⁰ shows the extent to which Magarshack's translations were used by the BBC (in both television and radio): a total of forty-nine broadcasts between 1952 and as recently as 1998, compared to nineteen for Fen between 1943 and 1992, and ten for Edmonds between 1957 and 1974. Theatre programmes found in Magarshack's archive show that his theatre translations were performed for decades. In a more academic context, Carl Proffer concluded his 1964

¹¹⁰ For a full list of the BBC's airings of Magarshack's translations, see:
<<http://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/search/0/20?q=David+Magarshack#search>> [Accessed 15 June 2017].

scholarly evaluation of different translations of Gogol's *Dead Souls* by recommending Magarshack's version to students (1964, p. 431) and, more recently, Kazuo Ishiguro singled Magarshack out as 'the favourite translator of Russian writers in the 1970s' (Walkowitz, 2007, p. 221). The majority of references to Magarshack's work in the sphere of literary criticism, however, are cursory and range, more recently, from the neutral to the negative, suggesting that while his reputation at the time was high, his translations have since fallen from favour. More recent translators are predictably critical. In their interview for *the Paris Review* (2015), translators Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonskaia express their disappointment at reading Magarshack's translation of *The Brothers Karamazov*; in which, they claim, blandness, 'something tame' replaces the style, tone and humour of Dostoevskii's original.

Magarshack elicits particular interest here as the only Russian translator of the early Penguin Classics corps to record extensively his thoughts and observations regarding translation and the way in which the translator exists and functions in the literary field. Through analysis of Magarshack's notes, drafts, letters, and reviews, I have been able to construct the profile of a complex man who embodies contrasts and contradictions in both outlook and practice. He is, for example, under financial pressure to complete commissions swiftly (Magarshack, 2015) and deals with his editors assertively, and yet he is unable to resist fine-tuning his target texts in order to pursue the "perfect" rendering, a trait which ultimately costs him time and money in his *Oblomov* translation. Sela-Sheffy (2008) finds in her analysis, conducted between 1999-2004, that those translators (like Magarshack) who 'glorify translation as a "vocation" rather than just a means of earning a living' (p. 611) seek two main sources of prestige, one which 'emanates from their acting as cultural custodian' and the other, which 'derives from their acting as *men of art*, endowed with artistic creativity' (ibid). Sela-Sheffy's focus on the translator's more ego-oriented dispositions anticipates translation scholar David Charlston's preference for the 'less familiar Bourdieusian term *hexis*', which embodies the translator's 'defiant, honour-seeking attitude' (Charlston, 2013, p. 55). Magarshack is a translator who craves such recognition for his work – he is ego-oriented and, as we will see later in this chapter, his notes show that he was honour-seeking – and yet he is bound to commissioners and their terms for his means of earning a living, and his reputation as a man of art depends on reviewers' verdicts. He is, therefore, sensitive to criticism of his own translations and yet is critical of others'

efforts (in particular Garnett's). He opts to legitimise his residency in the UK and yet continues to seek affirmation from the USSR, a geographical focus which permeates the foundation of his translation strategy too.

Unusually for the time, his theoretical contributions combine Western and Soviet translation traditions. He argues in his general statements of best practice (see *Expressions of Translatorial Hexis*) for the translator's worth, calling for the literary translator to receive (Soviet-style) national recognition and be hailed as a creative specialist; and he attempts to set out plans for future generations of translators. On a personal level and for personal reasons, Magarshack courted a reputation both in the West and in the USSR. Magarshack's work with Penguin (and that of his other fellow Penguin Russian translators) projected a cultural rather than political image of Russia abroad and it becomes clear from his notes that he viewed his translation work as an opportunity to re-draw previously constructed, misleading images of Russia abroad. Speaking at the height of his Penguin years, Magarshack offers some succinct insight into his practice. His methodology is summarised neatly, but with some originality,¹¹¹ in a *Chicago Tribune* interview:

Translation is an art in itself: one must transpose the life, the emotional significance of a book in detail. My test is that if I can translate my translation back to Russian quickly – then it is a bad translation. It has not been Englished as a work of imagination. (20 October 1963)

Magarshack does not draw on a sophisticated brand of translation theory here in order to justify the rationale behind a career of translation decisions, nor is there a complicated account of the practical strategies he has implemented to fulfil his Penguin commissions. The suggestion is that Magarshack's translations are the result of experienced intuition rather than science. Towards the end of his career, however, Magarshack moves away from the intuitive position demonstrated here and in other interviews in the 1950s-60s.¹¹² Instead, he underwent a conscious shift from translator to theorist, drawing on a detailed examination of British and Soviet Translation Studies in order to explain his past practice.

¹¹¹ Other translators of the time put more faith in back translation.

¹¹² Also demonstrated in articles: 'Gogol: A Great Russian Humorist', *Radio Times*, 1952; and 'The Translator's Art', *Times Educational Supplement*, 1969.

A Commission Ahead of its Time

The catalyst for Magarshack to document his views on translation theory was a commission from Victor Gollancz, in the late 1960s, to produce a book entitled *The Principles of Translation*. For Gollancz and the wider field of literary and translation publishing, there were numerous selling points for a book like Magarshack's. The commission seemingly emerged out of Gollancz's¹¹³ interest in Anglo-Soviet relations, an interest which, it was assumed, others would share.¹¹⁴ May maintains that 'At that time, because of the Cold War and the "thaw" in Russian culture, there was an enormous increase in academic interest in Russia in the United States and Britain' (2000, p. 1207). There was an absence of any guide on Russian-English literary translation; and there was Magarshack himself, a reputable practitioner with over twenty years' experience – thirty-five translations by this stage and six biographies – and a connection with the big paperback publisher of the day. When Gollancz commissioned Magarshack to produce *The Principles of Translation*, it is plausible to deduce that he expected Magarshack's recognisable name to serve as an aid to generating ready sales interest (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 121). Aside from any potential economic gain, Gollancz's commission also presented an opportunity for Magarshack to consolidate his own brand (once and for all) and, 'being well-situated' (ibid., p. 184), to metamorphose from successful émigré translator to distinguished translation theorist.

According to the synopsis (n.d., Box 13) which Magarshack wrote, he intended his commission to be a handbook to Russian-English literary translation in which he would analyse grammatical and lexical equivalence, and the translator's loyalty to artistic workmanship and to the source author. On these grounds, his commission would have been of interest to translation theorists, literary/language enthusiasts, and other translators including Penguin newcomers like Joshua Cooper (translator of Penguin's *Four Russian Plays* (1972)), for example. From 2 February 1970 to 15 January 1971, Cooper, the Penguin Classics editor James Cochrane and the reader and translator Paul Foote exchanged twenty-five detailed pages debating the very themes which

¹¹³ Gollancz was the founder member of the Left Book Club and a board member of the Anglo-Soviet Public Relations Committee throughout 1941-42. He exchanged correspondence with the Communist party between 1939-42 (Gollancz archive online).

¹¹⁴ This view is supported by the fact that Gollancz commissioned only this one book on the principles of literary translation. Kevin Crossley-Holland, editor at the time of Magarshack's terminated commission, can recall no further Gollancz publications of this ilk (e-mail to C McAteer 14 April 2016).

Magarshack's book intended to address: how best to handle Russian names; how to avoid over-literal renderings; how to capture idioms; how to ensure the English is not dated or odd 'in the mouth of a Russian character' (November 1970, Ref.: DM1952/329). Had Magarshack been able to see his Gollancz commission through, Cooper would have had a published guide, as well as in-house help, offering opinions about such fundamental literary translation questions.

Box number 20 in Magarshack's personal collection at the Leeds Russian archive includes the first six copies of *Delos*, the translation-oriented journals produced by University of Austin, Texas from 1968-1971 which represented the cutting edge of translation theory at that time. Magarshack annotated many of the articles in his copies and incorporated some of their content in the notes he made for his Gollancz commission. Box number 13 in his collection consists of these preparatory notes:

- notes and drafts for the book's synopsis, which he appears to re-name *The Art of Translation* (n.d.);
- a four-page taxonomy (entitled 'General') for best translation practice (n.d.);
- two lengthy lectures ('General Principles of Translation from the Russian' (n.d.) and 'Notes on the Translation of Chekhov' (n.d.)) based, it seems, on chapters he intended to include in his book.¹¹⁵

Even though Magarshack's commission ended in termination in 1973¹¹⁶ – a decision which may have been driven by ill-health – there is evidence to confirm that Magarshack took the project seriously. Fifteen years ahead of its time, Magarshack's commission anticipates André Lefevere's later call for a book to inspire and fill the gap in literary translators' practical aids. In 'Translated Literature: Towards an Integrated Theory' (1981), Lefevere laments the 'rather limited nature of much theoretical writing on translation' (p. 68) and asserts that most of the models designed to 'be put to practical use either in the training of translators' (p. 69) are 'anything but complete, in that they purposefully ignore literary translation' (p. 70). Lefevere concludes:

The study of existing translations of literature may well, in the end, result in a kind of historical grammar (of the taxonomic type) of translation. It will be able

¹¹⁵ 'Notes on the Translation of Chekhov' (Box 13) was aired in an abridged, twenty-minute broadcast, 'The Mystery of the Red Coffin', on 13 December 1981 (BBC Genome project). According to the Features' Editor, the lecture was well received. 'It's fairly rare, sadly, to get reaction to programmes on Radio 3, and I think it shows that David's words struck a powerful chord. [...] I would have thought it would be very worthwhile publishing it' (Plowright, 8 February 1982). Staff at the BBC Genome Project have been unable to locate any copy of the transcript.

¹¹⁶ See Crossley-Holland's letter to Magarshack's literary agent, Peter Grose at Curtis Brown Ltd: 'I am really so sorry that David Magarshack feels he must cancel the contract for THE PRINCIPLES OF TRANSLATION, [...] when a book is overdue in this way it becomes more and more of a millstone. He is very much the best man (in my opinion) to write this book' (16 May 1973, Box 1).

to show how others have managed to solve certain problems, why they decided to try it this or that way, and with what results. (Ibid., p. 78)

Magarshack's synopsis and accompanying notes and lectures present a scholarly yet practical approach and offer the inspiration and guidance which Lefevere was still awaiting years later. Moreover, Magarshack's move into translation theory lends a welcome dimension to a debate which divides the field of translation even today, namely whether and to what extent translation theory is useful for translation practice.¹¹⁷

In order to appreciate fully the significance and timeliness of Magarshack's project, it is necessary first to locate Magarshack in two eras: the era of Western Translation Studies in the 1950s-60s, the period which framed Magarshack's Penguin career and is itself worthy of further scrutiny for its subsequent influence over modern translation theory; and Soviet Translation Studies, to which Magarshack makes frequent reference at a time when Western translators and theorists had little awareness of the debates taking place in the Soviet Union.¹¹⁸ As Bourdieu notes, 'To understand [...] any writer, major or minor, is first of all to understand what the status of writer consisted of at the moment considered' (1993, p. 163), and the same notion applies to the translator. I will, therefore, first examine the translation debates which formed a background to Magarshack's translation practice, and then analyse Magarshack's own position in that debate.

Western Translation Theory in the 1950s and 1960s

Magarshack's commission arrives at a point when the Western discipline of Translation Studies has not yet been established but views and discussions were increasingly being explored, documented and developed. John Percival Postgate's *Translation and Translations, Theory and Practice* (1922) examines contemporary translation practice through an analysis of translation traditions. He argues in favour of translations which retain the 'pleasant piquancy' (1922, p. 33) of foreign suggestion; that an 'English translator has the same rights as an English author' (ibid.); and that the translator is an etcher who 'spares no touch or stroke that brings the copy nearer to the exemplar' (ibid., p. 39). Postgate also pre-empted the principle of equivalent effect, which will

¹¹⁷ See Chesterman and Wagner (2002, pp. 1-12), Boase-Beier (2006, pp. 47-56), and Whyte (2015, p. 285).

¹¹⁸ See James S. Holmes's view in the 1970s regarding Russian translation theory that 'there is a great deal going on that is inaccessible to us' (1994, p. 93), and more recently, Anthony Pym and Nune Ayvazyan who asked, 'Could we really have ignored the Russians so completely?' (2014, p. 1). (Sergei Tyulenev refutes this rhetorical question (2015, pp. 342-346).)

attract deeper analysis in the 1950s-60s. He argues that ‘a translation from French into English should produce upon an Englishman an impression as far as possible similar to that which the French original produces upon a Frenchman’ (ibid., p. 19). In the 1950s-60s, the key writers and critics to pick up on the sorts of themes which Postgate had previously examined were: Rieu and Rev. J.B. Phillips (‘Translating the Gospels’, 1953); Theodore Savory (*The Art of Translation*, 1957, revised edition 1968); Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet (‘Stylistique comparée du français et de l’anglais’, 1958, but only appearing in English translation in 1995); the contributors to Reuben Brower’s 1959 anthology, *On Translation* (Justin O’Brien, Willard V. Quine, Douglas Knight, Renato Poggioli); Vladimir Nabokov (‘Problems of Translation: *Onegin* in English’, 1955; ‘The Servile Path’, 1959); Roman Jakobson (‘On Linguistic Aspects of Translation’, 1959); Nida (‘Principles of Correspondence’, 1964); and Paul Selver’s *The Art of Translating Poetry* (1966). Magarshack’s 1968 commission was cancelled in 1973, just before the publication of George Steiner’s *After Babel* (1975).

Western books on translation in the 1950s expose the low status of translation at that time, and strive to present the subject as a creative act worthy of discussion. In *The Art of Translation*, Savory writes that problems of translation have yet to find ‘any final and universally accepted solutions’ (1968, p. 9) and he notes a dearth of commentary on translation practice:

When I began to consider these things I was surprised by the comparatively small amount of critical attention they [problems of translation] have received. Translations are many, almost beyond the counting, but appraisals of the art of the translator are in proportion fewer. (Ibid.)

In the US, Brower wrote:

[...] the question is often asked (I can hear some readers asking it now), ‘Why a book on translation?’ A book on intercultural relations, on linguistics, even on comparative literature, certainly, but on *translation*, the horror of the classroom, the waif of Grub Street, the unacknowledged half-sister of ‘true’ literature? (1959, p.4)

In developmental terms, theorists in the 1950s push the debate beyond the binary (literal vs. free) perspective in which translation had traditionally been viewed. Savory’s taxonomy, a list of points through which he attempts to summarise the essence of translatorial practice, brings out the contradictions resulting from a binary translation perspective:

1. A translation must give the words of the original.
2. A translation must give the ideas of the original.

3. A translation should read like an original work.
4. A translation should read like a translation.
5. A translation should reflect the style of the original.
6. A translation should possess the style of the translator.
7. A translation should read as a contemporary of the original.
8. A translation should read as a contemporary of the translator.
9. A translation may add to or omit from the original.
10. A translation may never add to or omit from the original.
11. A translation of verse should be in prose.
12. A translation of verse should be in verse. (Ibid., p. 50)

He places renewed emphasis on sense-for-sense, citing Postgate's preference for faithfulness over literal translation (ibid., p. 54) and Rieu's views on equivalence (ibid., p. 55), whom he echoes in his own position on translating into modern English:

[...] in most cases a reader is justified in expecting to find the kind of English that he is accustomed to use. If a function of translation is to produce in the minds of its readers the same emotions as those produced by the original in the minds of its readers, the answer is clear. (Ibid., p. 57)

The translatability of a text is determined by the translator who strives for equivalence and adopts appropriate linguistic procedures in order to achieve this equivalence. It is Rieu and Phillips whom Nida credits in 1964 with coining the term the 'principle of equivalent effect', which first appears in their interview 'Translating the Gospels' (conducted on 3 December 1953, but not published until October 1955 in *The Bible Translator*). For Rieu, equivalence is the phenomenon which renders a text accessible to the target reader, generating the same response as the original text generated in the source reader. The target reader was not only commercially significant to ventures like Penguin Classics; they were epistemologically significant to theorists like Nida, who cemented Penguin's, and specifically Rieu's principle, in theoretical terms in his 'Principles of Correspondence' (1964).

At around the same time, Vinay's and Darbelnet's methodology (1958/1995), based on a contrastive analysis between French and English, recognises similar binary delineations to those outlined in Savory's taxonomy and attempts to identify separate procedures for both literal and free translation. They align the following procedures to direct (literal) translation: borrowing; calque; literal translation. Oblique (free) translation included: transposition; modulation; and adaptation (1995, pp. 128-137). What their methodology achieves is a relatively narrow, prescriptive framework of approaches which would prove highly influential in translation training courses. Jakobson (1959, pp. 138-143) and Quine (1959, pp. 148-172), on the other hand, couch the discussion in broader linguistic terms: lexical equivalence, gender, syntax, semiotics,

register. They explain how words may not necessarily relate directly to their foreign equivalent. Jakobson explores the difficulties of simple words such as ‘cheese’ and ‘bachelor’, which Quine also examines. Their discussions analyse practical solutions to the pursuit of equivalence: synonymy, circumlocution, idiomatic phrase-word, entire message (Jakobson, 1959, p. 139). Jakobson declares equivalence ‘the cardinal problem of language and the pivotal concern of linguistics [...] Any comparison of two languages implies an examination of their mutual translatability’ (ibid.). The one literary form which, for Jakobson, but also Rieu, and Nabokov, eludes full equivalence and translatability is poetry. Jakobson declares it untranslatable, citing the juxtaposition of ‘verbal equations’, ‘syntactic and morphological categories’, and ‘paronomasia’ (ibid., pp. 142-3) as reasons for his verdict. In ‘Problems of Translation: *Onegin* in English’, Nabokov (1955, p. 118) cites specific complexities of the Russian language¹¹⁹ compared to English as a justification for never rendering the original through ‘free translation’ (ibid., p. 115). He argues that it is impossible to keep a poem’s rhythmic form while achieving ‘absolute exactitude of the whole text’ (ibid., p. 121) and laments the abilities of ignorant ‘would-be translators’ (ibid., p. 122). Nabokov’s ‘would-be translators’ need flawless knowledge of the source language and culture if they are to succeed:

Anyone who wishes to attempt a translation of *Onegin* should acquire exact information [...], such as the Fables of Krilov, Byron’s works, French poets [...], banking games, Russian songs [...], Russian military ranks [...], the difference between cranberry and lingonberry, [...] and the Russian language. (Ibid., pp. 122-3)

Justin O’Brien develops this argument in his essay, ‘From French to English’ in Brower’s anthology (1959), stating that:

[...] the ideal translator should work from a language he knows well into his own, native language. Indeed, a double rule might be laid down for translators: (1) that they must possess perfectly the language *from which* they are working (in the case of a living language they should be able to speak and write it fluently) and (2) that they must control even more intimately all the resources of the language *into which* they are translating’ (p. 83).

What becomes apparent by its frequent mention among translator-theorists in the 1950s, though, is the shortage of available, reliable, quality language resources, including even source texts. An example of such a resource deficit at Penguin is Seeley’s difficulty in obtaining a copy of the source text of Dostoevskii’s *Crime and Punishment*

¹¹⁹ Nabokov cites as incompatibilities: the greater number of rhymes in Russian; the limitation of one stress per word in Russian; higher frequency of polysyllabic words and full articulation of syllables in Russian; a rarity of inversion in Russian verse; frequency of modulated lines in iambic tetrameter (1955, p. 118).

[*Prestuplenie i nakazanie*]; even though the translation contract is settled as early as February 1946, Glover writes to Seeley over a year later, on 13 March 1947, to confirm finally that 'We have managed to track one down, which we shall be receiving in a few days, and I will forward this on to you' (Ref.: DM1107/L23). Fen also describes difficulties obtaining a source text in order to evaluate Edmonds's sample *Anna Karenin* translation (16 March 1950, Ref.: MS1394/6581). Nabokov describes the inadequacies of (Russian-English) dictionary entries while translating Pushkin's shrubs and trees (Nabokov, 1959, p. 104); Vinay and Darbelnet voice their desire for 'conceptual dictionaries with bilingual signifiers [...] But such dictionaries do not exist' (1995, p. 131). Jakobson's appeal is still more earnest:

It is difficult to overestimate the urgent need for and the theoretical and practical significance of differential bilingual dictionaries with careful comparative definition of all the corresponding units in their intension and extension. Likewise differential bilingual grammars should define what unifies and what differentiates the two languages in their selection and delimitation of grammatical concepts. (1959, p. 140)

In light of such limitations, Edmonds's handling of the culture-specific lexis found in Tolstoi's *The Cossacks* [*Казак*] is particularly impressive; the source text includes Cossack- as well as Caucasian-specific references: чихир, абрек, кабардинец, карга, кошкильды, бешмет, кинжал, not all of which terms can be found even in more modern editions of the *Oxford Russian Dictionary* (1993/2000). In the 1960s, if Edmonds experienced the same difficulties as Jakobson in obtaining a comprehensive bilingual dictionary, she would have had to consult a good, monolingual dictionary instead (or a well-informed native Russian-speaker) for a basic understanding of their meanings and then find a comparable term in English or otherwise resort to explication.

In spite of the exciting prospects of translation by mechanical means in the 1950s,¹²⁰ Savory remains unconvinced that human translators will soon be replaced by mechanical translation:

[...] a computer has no background of knowledge and experience; it is no more than an efficient and, particularly, a rapidly working tool, which can work in the service of the human intellect to which it owes its existence. (1968, p. 171)

¹²⁰ Anthony Oettinger dedicates an essay to automatic translation (1959, pp. 240-267); Vinay and Darbelnet also explore the latest technological developments. However, not until several decades later with statistical machine translation did machine translation seem feasible.

Savory argues in favour of the human artistry of translation (ibid., p. 41). He is not alone. The 1950s translator is portrayed by many as a craftsman, endowed with professional skills worthy of financial and reputational reward, not just a penny wordsmith guided by instinct and loosely-defined principles. Brower himself refers to the translator as a 'creator' (1959, p. 7), and Poggioli describes the translator with more artistic imagery, as 'a Narcissus who in this case chooses to contemplate his own likeness not in the spring of nature but in the pool of art' (1959, p. 139). In 'Translation: The Augustan Mode' (1959), Douglas Knight ascribes four key attributes to the translator: the status of 'artist'; the status of scholar and linguist; to 'have the interests and insights of an educated but unspecialized reader'; finally, to be 'alive to the struggles and dilemmas of his culture' without which 'his work will lack the urgency which good translation needs' (p. 197). Similarly, according to Savory, 'rare qualities [...] are needed in a good translator, but linguistic knowledge and literary capacity will not, by themselves, ensure the best translation' (1968, p. 34). The translator must experience 'sympathy with the feelings of the author' (ibid.) or, as Venuti puts it, '*simpatico*' (1995, p. 273); thorough familiarity with the subject of the work is essential (Savory, 1968, p. 34), as are 'insight, diligence and thoroughness' (ibid., p. 36). To meet all these necessary requirements, the 'good' translator is, therefore, something of a rare specimen:

A translator who adequately fulfils the requirements outlined above and who is able to attain a faultless standard of translation is obviously not to be found easily. The art of translation ought, therefore, to be highly valued and the translator correspondingly well rewarded for his services. (Ibid., p. 35)

In reality, though, Savory's summary of the translator's work is less optimistic. He concludes that it is 'a hopeless, almost impossible task, in return for which he [the translator] will not receive a proportionate reward' (ibid.). As at other times in translation history, there is a clear disconnect in the 1950s between the translator's emboldened self-perception as artist, creator, scholar and linguist, and outside opinions about the profession. Even Bourdieu's more recent assessment of the translator's position in the literary field succumbs to a view, quoted earlier, that the literary translator 'is often little more than the adaptor of a foreign product' (2008, p. 148). The 1950s-60s, though, form an era of artistic self-definition for the translator, through collective voices in Brower's anthology and *Delos*, and individual voices such as Savory and Nabokov. These strivings for professional recognition and status are significant,

therefore, to our understanding of the development of Translation Studies for they predate the recognised start of the discipline by nearly twenty years.¹²¹

Soviet Translation Theory

Let us now examine the parallel climate for translation, translators and translation theory in the Soviet Union. From the 1920s onwards, Soviet translators and theorists (Kornei Chukovskii, Mikhail Lozinskii, Efim Etkind, Ivan Kashkin, Semën Lipkin, Nikolai Liubimov, Samuil Marshak, Nikolai Zabolotskii, among others) forged the Soviet school of translation – ‘an esprit as well as an organisation’ (Leighton, 1991, p. xvi) – sporting the (rather nebulous) strapline: ‘translation is an art’ (ibid., p. 6). The Soviet school initially emerged out of Maxim Gorkii’s post-revolutionary (and pre-Penguin) World Literature [*Vsemirnaya literatura*] project, founded in 1918 alongside the World Literature Publishing House, to translate ‘all the treasures of poetry and artistic prose created over a period of one and a half centuries of intense European spiritual creativity’ (Gorkii, 1919). To this end, the translator, poet, journalist and theorist Chukovskii was invited to produce a handbook benchmarking best translatorial practice. In terms which anticipate Lefevere’s, he explains in *Vysokoe iskusstvo* (1965-67), translated by Leighton as *A High Art* in 1984, that:

In order to accomplish this, a theory of artistic translation was needed which would arm the translator with clear and simple principles [...]. Some of us had a vague sense of these principles but they had not yet been formulated. Gorky therefore proposed that several members of the editorial board [...] compile something like a manual for old and new masters of translation - we were to formulate the principles needed to help translators in their work. (p. 4)

Chukovskii’s manual was a timely development, as can be seen from Mandelshtam’s highly critical 1929 *Izvestiia* article ‘*Potoki khalturny*’ (‘Torrents of Hackwork’) which decries the flood of talentless, ‘abominable’ translations in the Soviet Union (Mandelshtam, 1929, pp. 81-83). Regarded as central to the Soviet school of translation, Chukovskii’s much-refined observations on the art of translation, spanning from 1919 to 1968, ‘raised the respect and prestige of the art of translation to a level that could not be comprehended in the West’ (Leighton, 1984, p. xii). However, to regard translation purely as a creative art, rather than a calibrated science, risks a lack of prescriptive guidelines for practitioners. Consequently, Chukovskii’s observations do not convince

¹²¹ The discipline is generally considered to have begun with James S. Holmes’s 1972 paper, ‘The Name and Nature of Translation Studies’ (Munday, 2008, p. 9).

everyone. In *Translation and the Making of Modern Russia* (2016), Brian James Baer analyses the obstacles to quantifying the Soviet School of Translation:

The tenets of the school were vaguely expressed, and typically in negative terms, that is, what the school was not. Moreover, what tenets were articulated changed over time in reaction to political and cultural shifts. As with socialist realist novels, the tenets of the Soviet School were not elaborated in theoretical theses so much as they were defined by exemplars, authoritative models. (p. 130)

Soviet translation theorists attempted to define their core tenets as the following: the rejection of literalism (*bukvalizm*) (Baer and Olshanskaya, 2013, p. xi) and “blandscrip” (*gladkopis'*) (Leighton, 1991, p.13); the pursuit of precision, balance, and translatorial self-control; commitment to the source author; acceptance of translatability; and the principle of equivalent effect. The ‘good’ translator’s qualities were also scrutinised, often defined by artistic analogies (the translator as actor, artist, portraitist). Zabolotskii (1954, pp. 109-110) captured the essence of the profession in a 22-point taxonomy. Chukovskii references Russia’s own history of translation in order to qualify his views. Aleksei Tolstoi, for example, is praised for ‘striving [...] to be as faithful to the original as possible, but only where *fidelity or precision do not harm the artistic impression*’ (Chukovskii, 1965-67, p. 79, emphasis in original). In his 1867 *Sobranie sochinenii*, Tolstoi expresses a principle of equivalent effect which precedes Rieu’s Western version by nearly a century. Chukovskii endorses the effect, ‘The reader of the translation must be carried into *the very same sphere* as the reader of the original, and the translation must act on the very same nerves’ (ibid., p. 80, emphasis in original). Like Jakobson and Quine, Chukovskii also explores the complexities of lexical equivalence when translating words such as *chelovek* (man, person) into English. On this occasion, he quotes Admiral A. Shishkov’s book, *A Discourse on the Old and New Style of the Russian Language* (1803), which predates Jakobson by more than 150 years, and uses Venn diagrams most effectively to explain the extent of equivalence when translating Russian words into French (Chukovskii, 1965-67, pp. 55-58).

Consciously rejecting the formalistic methods of the 1920s-30s, the precursor of *bukvalizm*, Chukovskii notes that:

[...] there are scores, even hundreds, of cases where such concern for precision led [...] to imprecision, and where concern for a strict correspondence in the number of lines drastically lowered their quality. [...] translators – even the best translators – made such huge sacrifices for this principle that they inflicted incalculable losses on Soviet readers. (Ibid., p. 179)

For Chukovskii, formalistic translation methods must give way to methods ‘which are vital and creative’ (ibid., p. 178), but even here, the ‘good’ Soviet translator must not get carried away. Liubimov, famous for his translations of Cervantes and Rabelais, highlights two key dangers facing the translator, ‘dreary, ponderous *bukvalizm* and wanton, foolhardy, slapdash ad libbing’ (1982, p. 83, my translation). In order to avoid such dangers, the Soviet translator must step into the source author’s mind and emotions, channel their creative energy into an accurate, realistic representation of the original. The translator’s narcissistic self and any excesses of creativity must be sacrificed for precision. The source text and the source author’s intentions must be accurately conveyed, hence Liubimov’s rejection of *otsebiatina*, ‘ad libbing’. Chukovskii concurs:

Art like this is accessible only to great masters of translation – the kind of translators who possess the priceless ability to overcome their own ego and transform themselves artistically into the author they translate. This demands not only talent, but a special versatility, a plasticity, a ‘communality of intellect’. (1965-67, p. 40)

Chukovskii offers a recurring message that chance errors, ‘slips of the vocabulary’, may be forgiven; these are merely ‘scratches and cuts which are easily treated’ (ibid., p. 17).¹²² By contrast, however, he believed that the distortion of an author’s spirit – either by the ‘total complex of concoctions which in their aggregate change the style’ (ibid., p. 26) or by obliterating ‘all the intonations, all the colour, all the characters’ speech distinctiveness’ (ibid., p. 16) – was tantamount to ‘villainous murder’, a ‘criminal act’ (ibid., p. 17). Using similar terms, Marshak, poet and translator of Robert Burns, wrote:

Centuries of effort and experience have shown us that aspiring to literal accuracy can often lead to translational gobbledygook, to violence against one’s own language, to the loss of the poetic value of that which is being translated. (1962, p. 93)

Soviet translators spurned, therefore, the ‘sham precision for which the pedant-translators of the thirties strove’ (Chukovskii, 1965-67, p. 79) and immersed themselves instead in the pursuit of artistic translation, committed to capturing the original author’s spirit and style. Marshak consolidates the opinions of Chukovskii, Liubimov, and Lozinskii when he writes in 1962 that:

An actor may be liberated rather than constrained by his role, but only if he can pour himself into it, deeply, with his entire essence. The same goes for a

¹²² This is a far more lenient view than that held by Ginzburg, whom Chukovskii quotes as stating that ‘not only the fate of a translation, but the professional fate of the translator hangs on a single word’ (Chukovskii, 1965-67, p. 11), and formalistic Nabokov, who famously wrote that, ‘The clumsiest literal translation is a thousand times more useful than the prettiest paraphrase’ (1955, p. 115).

translator. He should, so to speak, be reincarnated in the author, [...] fall in love with him, with his manner and language, in this way preserving faithfulness to his own language [...]. Impersonal translations are always colourless and lifeless. (p. 94)

For Liubimov, the translator, unlike the original author, has a dual responsibility: to the source author *and* the target reader (1982, p. 51). In order to serve author and reader successfully, the translator must become immersed in all life experiences, observe how people live, and have fully awakened senses. Marshak, like Liubimov and Chukovskii, also observes that 'Without a link to the real world, without profound observations on life, without a worldview, [...] without study of the language and of the various nuances of the spoken idiom, the creative work of the poet-translator is impossible' (1962, p. 92). The best way for the Soviet translator to honour the source text and source author, therefore, is by striving for the utmost equivalence and accuracy. If the translator does not achieve this then, according to Liubimov, 'you'll be putting a pane of distorted glass between the author and the reader' (1982, p. 8, my translation).

While Western translators were requesting better dictionaries and glossaries in the 1950s, Soviet translators were placing an emphasis on the *living* language, an ever-changing phenomenon outmanoeuvring the contemporaneity of dictionaries. According to Chukovskii:

The nuances of human speech cannot be chased down in a dictionary. Therefore, the task of the translator, if he is an artist, consists of nothing less than finding as often as possible the equivalents for Russian and foreign words which cannot be located in a dictionary. (1965-67, p. 82)

Soviet translators should have a 'daily dose of synonyms' (ibid.), maintain a literary store-cupboard – *literaturnaia kladovaia* – of modern vocabulary and idioms (Liubimov, 1982, p. 53), and, above all else, should believe in the invincibility of the Russian language (ibid., p. 50). Translatability was regarded as one of the Soviet school's overarching principles. The Soviet theorist Rossels describes translatability as the first principle of the Soviet school (Leighton, 1991, p. 13) and Lauren Leighton quotes the translator V. Koptilov as insisting that 'The virtuoso translator does not know the word "untranslatable"' (ibid., p. 207). For Soviet theorists, the translator should overcome all textual challenges. They should persevere until a practical solution is found to preserve the fabric and features of the text. As Baer puts it, the view that there were 'limits to translatability, [...] was anathema in Soviet culture of the time' (2016, p. 130).

Chukovskii, however, did not share Koptilov's complete conviction with regard to the translatability of colloquial speech. In his view, 'the Russian language has not the

slightest lexical means' to cope with 'colorful dialects in translation' (Chukovskii, 1965-67, p. 128). Though unable to say exactly how colloquial speech should be rendered, Chukovskii's preference is for a translator to 'give us a sketch of a plot without even attempting to recreate foreign stylistics!' (ibid., p. 131). He firmly declares his dislike of: *muzhikification* (the inflicting of an improbable local dialect on characters); the localising of names; the literal rendering of idioms and making calques of foreign folk sayings. Highlighting his point, Chukovskii levels failings of this ilk and 'intolerable slovenliness' (ibid., p. 234) at foreign translators of Russian writers. As Munir Sendich (1999) observes, 'There is hardly a single American, or British, translation of classical Russian literature that would satisfy the requirements Chukovsky's book prescribes for a good translation' (p. 55). Surveying attempts by Anglophone translators (and given the time of Chukovskii's writing, such attempts must have included those by Penguin translators), Chukovskii concludes despondently that 'because of these poor translations the reader across the ocean has not the slightest idea what Gogol, Chekhov, Leskov [...] is really like'. Any decent translations are exceptions, 'surprises, accidents' (Chukovskii, 1965-67, p. 236), and his faith in Soviet superiority is transparent when he laments, 'Can it be that we Soviet authors must silently and passively endure this insufferable lack of care for our labours?' (ibid.).

Magarshack's Translation Theory

Magarshack's thirty-four-page lecture, 'General Principles of Translation from the Russian' (n.d.),¹²³ summarises milestones in the Western history of translation. Starting with Terence, he progresses to the (post-) Elizabethan English translators: George Chapman, John Denham and John Dryden; to Dr Johnson's *Life of Dryden*; Alexander Fraser Tytler's *Essay on the Principles of Translation*; Johann Wolfgang von Goethe; and Matthew Arnold's 'On Translating Homer'. Some of these references may be attributed to the first two issues of *Delos*, in which Magarshack underlined and annotated a number of features and extracts.¹²⁴ Not all aspects emanate from *Delos* though; Magarshack also drew on Sir Philip Sidney, Alexander Pope, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Constance Garnett, and Logan Pearsall Smith to support his translation observations. From the Soviet tradition, Magarshack's influences include Chukovskii's *Vysokoe iskusstvo*, which he quotes at

¹²³ Referred to hereafter as 'General Principles'.

¹²⁴ The most annotated articles are Goethe and Arnold from *Delos* Book 1; Dryden, from *Delos* Book 2.

length in his lecture, 'A Note on Translation of Chekhov' (n.d., pp. 2-3); Liubimov's *Perevod-iskusstvo*; Marshak's notes on translation; and finally, but more fleetingly, Semën Lipkin, Peretz Markish, and Wilhelm Levik, all contributors to *Masterstvo perevoda* ('The Craft of Translation'),¹²⁵ the Soviet equivalent to *Delos*.

Magarshack adopted many of the views which appear in Chukovskii's *Vysokoe iskusstvo*. Magarshack's notes show that he envisaged including a section in his book on the 'dual role of translator as craftsman and artist', echoing Chukovskii's chapter on the 'self-portrait of the translator' (1965-67, Ch. 2). Sub-headings in Magarshack's notes and synopsis echo Chukovskii's chapters. These include: idioms; misuse of vocabulary and 'spurious atmosphere';¹²⁶ meaning of words;¹²⁷ period style;¹²⁸ parts of speech, a section covering 'common distortions in translations of Russian classics of the XIX century'; humour; rhythm¹²⁹ (Magarshack, n.d., p. 2). Where Chukovskii dedicates a chapter to Russian translations of Shakespeare's works, Magarshack proposes a similar section analysing Marshak's and Pasternak's translations of poetry and Shakespeare.

Magarshack's notes and drafts include contemporary and historical references from both the West and the USSR. There is overt reference, for example, in Magarshack's book synopsis to Nabokov's translation of *Evgenii Onegin*. Savory's influence can best be recognised in Magarshack's taxonomy for translation practice. Translatability and lexical equivalence feature too; where Jakobson builds a discussion around the Russian words *syr* (cheese), *rabotnik/rabotnitsa* (worker), and Chukovskii discusses *chelovek* (person), Magarshack does the same, offering his own references, for example, to colours ('the Russian looks at the spectrum in quite a different way from the English speaking person' (Synopsis, n.d., p. 4)), and what he terms 'static' words ('such as the Russian word for ruka, which includes the arm as well as the hand, leading to mistranslations which often destroy the effect of a whole scene' (ibid.)). Magarshack and Jakobson share the same assessment of poetry translation: that 'poetry is untranslatable' (Synopsis, n.d., p. 2/1959, p. 143), and for Magarshack, it is specifically the inability to evoke the same response that makes him so certain of poetry's untranslatability.

¹²⁵ All three translators feature in the 1963 edition, <<http://knigi.tr200.org/v.php?id=550810>> [Accessed 11 July 2016].

¹²⁶ Chukovskii's equivalent chapter is entitled 'Slips of the Vocabulary' (Ch. 1).

¹²⁷ Chukovskii's chapter: 'Vocabulary – Rich and Poor'.

¹²⁸ Chukovskii's chapter: 'Style'.

¹²⁹ Chukovskii's chapter: 'The Translator's Hearing. Rhythm. Sound Patterns'.

Like Savory and Brower, Magarshack also makes an assessment in 'General Principles' of the modern state of translation in the UK and the US, likening the Russian literary translator to 'the poet at the beginning of the Elizabethan age' (n.d., p. 1). Citing Sidney, for whom the translator is "'Almost in as good a reputation as the mountibanks of Venice'" (ibid.), Magarshack suggests that a new, energetic stage in the British literary canon is being forged through translation even though, in reality, it is Penguin and other commercial publishing institutions which are shaping Anglophone perceptions of the classic Russian literary canon by the titles they select and sell, and, in Penguin's case, the translation style it supports. For Magarshack, this phase in Russian literary translation is novel and flourishing but is, as yet, under-scrutinised and under-appreciated. Magarshack also notes the 'rather primitive stage' of Russian scholarship, as well as the noticeable absence from the literary field of 'many English critics of note who have enough Russian to be able to express an authoritative opinion on a translation of a Russian classic' (ibid.), a claim which sounds a familiar chord (see Chapter Two on Woolf's evaluation of Russian literature in translation).

Also in the lecture, Magarshack turns to history in order to form his own definition of a 'good' literary translator's credentials. He uses the Carthaginian slave Terence (195-151 BCE) to show just how long translators have been performing the crucial roles of craftsman and artist. By referring to Terence, who 'had constantly to contend against the established Roman playwrights who resented his more vigorous use of colloquial Latin instead of their more traditional literary language' (Magarshack, n.d., pp. 1-2), Magarshack articulates the Chukovskian belief which underscores all of his, and Soviet, theorising, that the translator is an artist:

In dealing with a work of art (and it is with this aspect of a translator's work that I am chiefly concerned) the translator performs a dual role: he is not only a craftsman, he must also be an artist, for unless he can breathe the spirit of art into his translation, the result is bound to be a travesty of the original. (n.d., p. 1)

In his 'General Principles' lecture, Magarshack manages to summarise his professional stance whilst positioning himself in an historical hall of fame. He identifies with the Elizabethan poets for their views opposing literal translation: with Chapman (1598), translator of Homer, for attacking 'the literal translation of an author as "A pedantical and absurd affectation"' (Magarshack, n.d., p. 2); and with Denham (1656), translator of Virgil, for branding the concept of the 'fidus interpres' as 'A vulgar error in translating poets' (ibid.). He lauds Dryden's (1680) condemnation of the 'verbatim translator and

the imitator' (ibid.), and in praise of paraphrase – a principle of translation which Magarshack describes as being 'so lucid' (n.d., p. 3) – Magarshack devotes more than three pages of his lecture to Dryden, singling out Dryden's demand that the translator possess 'a perfect understanding of his author's tongue and an absolute command of his own' (Magarshack, n.d., p. 4). Magarshack asserts a key difference, though, between Dryden's translation and his own: Dryden was translating from a dead language. For Magarshack, there is more at stake when translating from Russian, a living language. Recalling Chukovskii and Liubimov, he notes that:

[...] it is not enough for a translator to have learnt the language from books. The only way for a translator to master a language is by personal association with the people speaking that language in their own country. Scholarship by itself is not enough; for scholarship is only concerned with the dead bones of a language. What matters in a work of art, is its living soul, the living words, and not the words to be found in a dictionary; to apprehend the meaning of a living word, one must feel it rather than be aware of its sense intellectually. (Ibid., pp. 5-6)

Magarshack also finds flaws in Tytler's rule regarding the treatment of idiomatic phrases. He describes Tytler as 'an erudite Scott' [sic] (ibid., p. 13), but cannot accept that the more challenging idiom should be dealt with by using 'plain and easy language', his fear being that 'it loses its salt' (ibid., p. 14). By introducing a discussion of idioms, Magarshack creates an opportunity to criticise his predecessor, Garnett. Critical of any translator unfamiliar with the living Russian language, he, like Chukovskii, accuses such a practitioner of leading the reader:

[...] into the belief that it is the peculiar Russian national character that makes the Russians express themselves so strangely. Even where a translator is aware of the fact that he is dealing with an idiom, a clumsy, literal translation will very often destroy a dramatic scene. (Ibid.)

Magarshack supports his opinion with examples from Garnett's work. He singles out her literal translation of 'the Russian idiom "*pochemu nyet*"' as 'why not', as having been 'instrumental in producing in the minds of the English readers, a curious notion of the Russian as a queer person who responds to the most ordinary situation of social intercourse in a most peculiar way' (ibid., p. 14). Magarshack also criticises Garnett for her literal renderings in *Diadia Vania*:

'Nye pominayte likhom' as 'Don't remember evil against me.' ruins the whole scene, since no English speaking woman would say anything of the kind to a man she had confessed a minute ago that she was in love with [...]. Here we have the case of an everyday Russian idiom, [...] translated literally into an unidiomatic and curiously harsh phrase which does not give the actress playing Yelena the ghost of a chance of conveying the feelings of Chekhov's heroine, and must needs lead to a distortion of the scene on stage. (Ibid., pp. 14-15)

He dedicates another three pages (pp. 21-24) to the idiomatic errors he perceives Garnett to have made in her translation of Gogol's *Nevsky Prospekt*. Magarshack aligns his views with those of Chukovskii and Liubimov. Chukovskii wrote that the translator who lacks a working knowledge of the source language risks distorting the source message and even the source culture in their target text:

Translators who do not know the phraseology of their foreign language are just such 'remarkable eccentrics.' Many of them know their foreign language only from the dictionary, and consequently do not know its most current idioms. They have never guessed that the English expression 'God bless my soul!' does not always signify literally what it says, but frequently just the opposite: 'Devil take me'. (1965-67, p. 93)

For Liubimov, the translator must have a natural, fully proficient knowledge of the source and target languages, people, local culture:

An organic connection with one's people, with one's life is the rule of art; it is its soil and its air. Without this connection art withers and degenerates. The call for a closer connection with real life is what is most directly and immediately relevant to the writer-translator. Without a connection with the realities of life it is impossible to create a fully developed original work; likewise, without a connection to life a translation becomes anemic. (1963, p. 123)

In Magarshack's taxonomy, he singles out the importance of a translator having 'Organic Contact with Life' (Magarshack, n.d., p. 4), a need for linguistic dexterity, both in the source and target languages, to ensure a credible transfer of a text's style, spirit, humour, idioms. Even though he never returned to Russia and never spoke Russian at home (Magarshack, 2015), Magarshack's emphasis on linguistic dexterity and contact with the 'living' language indicates that he saw himself as a prime example of a translator living and breathing both source and target languages. Developing this assertion further, he clearly believed his Russian birth, childhood and youth to be sufficient for a person to 'feel' the deeper meaning of the Russian word, and that his life in Britain provided sufficient exposure to English for him to 'feel' the deeper meaning of the target language too and to render nuances accordingly in his Penguin translations. According to Magarshack, it is the translator's proficiency and creativity with both languages that will determine how effectively equivalence is achieved:

A creative writer selects his words for their evocative power; to translate him does not mean to substitute words in one language for words in another language: it means to evoke the same kind of emotions as the original author was successful in evoking. A translator who is insensitive to the reactions of his author's readers can produce only a travesty of his work. (n.d., p.6)

Magarshack's approach applies the same principles of dynamic equivalence associated with Rieu (1955) and Nida (1964). Nida's essay does not feature in Magarshack's

archive, nor is there a copy of Rieu's 'Translating the Gospels', however, given Magarshack's close working acquaintance with Rieu,¹³⁰ it seems likely that Rieu's approach served to reinforce views he already had. The prospect of repeat commissions at Penguin might have helped to consolidate Magarshack's like-minded views too, though. Such a view complicates Bourdieu's more categorical claim that 'all agents, writers, artists and intellectuals construct their own creative project according, first of all, to [...] their habitus [...] and secondly, to their predisposition to take advantage of [...] those possibilities [...] associated with their position in the game' (1993, p. 184). Pym maintains that the concept of habitus 'is frequently used in the sociology of translators, perhaps without adequate reflection on what it means' (2011, p. 82), and the ambiguous intertwining of Magarshack's habitus and practice with a Penguin *skopos* is a case in point. In Magarshack's case, there is no way of discerning to what extent his practice was already entirely formed, based on his pre-existing habitus, and coincided fortuitously with Penguin's strategy later; or to what extent his practice was formed purely to cater to Penguin's needs and out of a wholly conscious desire to secure (ongoing) employment. Although Bourdieu's concept of habitus can be useful, it can, at the same time, be too much of a blunt instrument for translation case studies, especially because habitus has come to be associated with translatorial subservience. Habitus feels like a poor fit for a man like Magarshack given his dispositions: pride in his Russian birth, a sense of entitlement about translating Russian literature, and a desire to be respected and recognised professionally in two nations. A better term to suit Magarshack's dispositions, therefore, might be the term '*hexis*', which David Charlston explains as:

[...] a physical stance or a way of standing which embodies shared social and cultural values; it simultaneously incorporates and expresses the self-respect felt by a person who knows that their attitude and manner of behaving are recognized within their community as honourable and worthy of respect. (2013, p. 55)

As Charlston argues, we can construe a translator's lexical choices as an embodiment of their translatorial *hexis* (2013, p. 56). Magarshack's theorising reveals a sense of entitlement and self-worth coupled with dissatisfaction that, being Russian-born but university-educated in the UK, he should be respected, even admired, by both the USSR and the UK for his contributions to Russian literary translation. Magarshack's

¹³⁰ Magarshack's correspondence with Plaatt, Managing Editor, Penguin, 12 March 1964 (Box 1), reveals his respect for Rieu: 'He saw seven of my Penguin books through the press and I shall never forget his marvellous tact and consideration' (p. 2).

dispositions fall less comfortably into Bourdieu's broad schema than into Charlston's concept of translatorial *hexis*. Translatorial *hexis* 'embodies [...] a defiant, honour-seeking attitude in the philosopher-translator with regard to specific oppositions in the surrounding field' (ibid.). Charlston's adoption and exploration of the term *hexis*, which values (rather than overlooks) the 'subtle, conscious or unconscious textual interventions' (ibid., p. 54) found in the translated text, challenges Simeoni's 'component of "subservience" [...] detected in the translator's habitus' (ibid., p. 55) and goes beyond Sela-Sheffy's own challenge to Simeoni's model of subservience.

What can be concluded, if we revisit Rieu's mission statement for Penguin Classics, is that Rieu and Penguin would certainly have approved of Magarshack's apparent devotion to equivalence. In his compilation, *Penguin Portrait*, Hare observes Rieu's aspiration for equivalence:

This was exactly the 'principle of equivalent effect' that Rieu strove to achieve in his translations, and those he commissioned: a certain quality in the translation capable of creating the impression on modern-day readers as the original had on its contemporaries. (1995, p. 188)

Comment on the effectiveness of Penguin's principle of equivalent effect rarely features in translation reviews at the time when Magarshack was active; instead, reviewers typically applaud the arrival of a fresh translation to suit the modern reader. In the case of Cyril Connolly's 1956 review of *The Idiot*, he goes further, praising Magarshack for managing 'to tidy up the verbiage of the leisurely nineteenth-century classic' (*The Sunday Times*). Magarshack felt that it was important to bring the classic tale to the modern reader, but, according to his notes, not to modernise the classic tale in doing so.¹³¹ Equivalence was not the only common ground between Rieu and Magarshack. Magarshack approved of Rieu's Dryden-style recommendation to paraphrase too (Rieu and Phillips, 1955, p. 157). Endorsing dynamic equivalence and paraphrase as pillars of his practice, Magarshack also felt it was imperative for the 'good' translator to know the source author's intentions, to 'possess the ability of crawling, as it were, into the mind of his author' (Synopsis, n.d., p. 4) and his author's characters; and, by implication, Magarshack is assuming that such authorial intentions can indeed be discerned. This approach also explains Magarshack's successful side line in biographies, an additional

¹³¹ He states in his taxonomy that the translator 'Must not attempt to translate slang or colloquialism into current slang or colloquialism of England or America' (General, p. 1).

source of income, for which he became arguably more famous than for his translations:¹³²

Translator must have not only a perfect knowledge of the language of his author but also of his author's political and economic background: his biography, his contemporaries, his place in the literature of his country, the historic facts of his age mirrored, however faintly, in his works, etc. (Ibid., p. 3)

For Magarshack, a "successful" translation, therefore, results from a translator's ability to read the author's intentions and to locate the work in the source culture, but the way in which a translator achieves this success depends on the constituent parts of a translator's past: the combination of translation experience, creativity and the translator's ability to use the target language, alongside an intimate knowledge of the source culture, history, and politics. This professional blend resonates with the general profile of a Soviet translator:

[...] translators must have a scholar's knowledge of literature, geography, ethnography, history, social science, and philosophy. Soviet translators are in many cases [...] also authors of scholarly studies, literary histories, biographies, and standard historical-cultural works on the country of their foreign language. (Leighton, 1991, p. 14)

In these areas, Magarshack sets himself apart from his nearest 'rival' Garnett, who preferred others (Stepniak and later her husband, Edward) to write the introductions to her translations (Garnett, 2009, p. 143). In his lecture, 'A Note on Translation of Chekhov' (n.d., Box 13), Magarshack makes no effort to disguise doubt in Garnett's Russian language and cultural skills. He argues that in order to achieve a 'proper' rendering of Chekhov, the translator 'must have a thorough knowledge of Russian, by which I do not mean a knowledge acquired by an academic study of the language, but one obtained from a long and close association with the Russian people' (ibid., p. 1).¹³³ He continues that:

[...] it is a fact that some well-known translators of Chekhov's plays have only a hazy notion of Russian. This is certainly true of Constance Garnett who monopolised for such a long time the presentation of Chekhov's plays on the English stage and left a ghastly legacy of misconceptions and misrepresentations behind. (Ibid.)

Magarshack's evaluation of Garnett's efforts is harsh. By his disregard, even contempt, for Garnett's knowledge, Magarshack dismisses the notion that a non-native, self-taught

¹³² Magarshack's obituary in the *Times*, 29 October 1977, only cites Magarshack's role as a biography writer. No mention is made of Penguin or the many translations he had published throughout his career.

¹³³ Magarshack repeatedly emphasises the need for the translator to know the source culture. Although socialising in Russian exile circles in London, Garnett only visited Russia twice in her lifetime (Garnett, 1991, p. 115 and p. 208) and made little secret about her reliance on dictionaries (ibid., p. 76).

Russian linguist could ever really grasp the meaning of all the words to be translated. On a deeper level, Magarshack is also doubting the extent to which a translator with such little contact with 'real' Russian life can truly feel and capture complex, anthropological concepts, such as the ubiquitous Russian soul, the 'style, the spirit, and the meaning' (Rieu, 1955, p. 154), concealed within an original Russian text. On this basis, Magarshack should also have applied the same criticism to Edmonds who, as has already been established, did not have a 'long and close association with the Russian people' either; however, there is no record of Magarshack commenting on Edmonds's work and, in fact, contrary to Magarshack's opinion, Edmonds fares well in Henry Gifford's evaluation, as we have seen. After Penguin, she 'became expert' at Old Church Slavonic and 'undertook the English translation of the Orthodox liturgy' (*The Telegraph*, 1998), requiring her to engage wholly with the Russian 'spirit'.

Magarshack makes no allowance for Garnett's dedication, for conducting her work in professional isolation, with few predecessors or resources to offer guidance or comparison. Nor does Magarshack acknowledge that, even in spite of the infrequent trips she made to Russia, Garnett mastered enough of the language to translate seventy volumes of Russian literature (Heilbrun, 1959, p. 246) (considerably more than his own list of published, book-length works, see Appendix 2). Each generation of translators makes the best of their moment. If there is no legacy on which to build, then the translator can proceed only as best they can, using the available tools, knowledge, and experience.¹³⁴ Garnett may have produced 'Edwardian prose' (Remnick, 2005), be 'totally lacking verbal talent' (Nabokov, 2011, p. 31) but even Nabokov credits her 'with a certain degree of care' (in her translation of *The Government Inspector*) (ibid.).

I would argue that Magarshack's discrediting of Garnett stems from rivalry, maybe even resentment, towards her for cornering three fundamental opportunities before him: translating the Russian literary canon; constructing Russia's image abroad; and enjoying the reputation of a trailblazer. By displaying her abilities in a less positive light, Magarshack is encouraging his target audience to discard the old and take a (reasonably-priced, Penguin-published) chance on his own, 'living' translation instead. Commercial

¹³⁴ When asked at the Litquake Translation Panel 'whether a bad translation was better than no translation at all', translator Katherine Silver replied, 'Garnett was a trailblazer working under adverse conditions, a translator who made it possible for the Pevears of the world to now perform what is perhaps more faithful renditions of the great Russian novels' (Ciabattari, Book Critics, 2009).

rivalry and struggle for ownership is recognised by Bourdieu (1993, p.41) as being a default response among competing cultural producers. Whereas modern Russian classic translators have numerous predecessors from whom they would wish to stand out as having achieved more, Magarshack had only the one major competitor in the UK. Magarshack's first Penguin publication arrived just five years after Garnett's death and represented the first significant challenge to her dominant English version of *Crime and Punishment*. Magarshack and Penguin would have been conscious that they were pitting themselves against Garnett's reputation, which they would somehow have to erode in order to claim it for themselves. Magarshack's criticism of Garnett becomes all the easier for the fact that, having died in 1946, Garnett would be unable to defend herself, and also that Magarshack was not her only critic.

For all his criticism, though, it seems only proper to draw attention to the fact that, by the same critical measure, Magarshack himself would not have had the native *English* fluency which Garnett boasted. As is frequently debated about bilingualism,¹³⁵ one might reasonably ask whether Magarshack's Russian suffered for having left Russia at a relatively young age (twenty-one), and whether, in turn, his feel for the 'living' language of his source texts diminished increasingly over time. With no Russian-interaction in the UK (Magarshack, 2015), Magarshack's mother tongue may well have become 'subtractive', a form of bilingualism where 'an individual may come to know and use English with greater fluency than their native language [...] and may actually involve the attrition of skills in the earlier language' (Altarriba, 2005). At the same time, though, one might also question the dominance of his English given that he apparently relied heavily on his wife, Elsie, to help with all his commissions (Magarshack, 2014, p. 2). Though professionally proficient, Magarshack's English, was still, nevertheless, that of an émigré.

One may wonder, therefore, the extent of Magarshack's own 'Organic Contact with Life' (Magarshack, n.d., p. 4), which he recommends all translators experience if they are to master their languages. Liubimov¹³⁶ remarked that, 'Study of living colloquial speech with its phraseology, specific expressions, and intonation can and should take place everywhere – in the street, on the train, at the store, at the office, at a meeting, and

¹³⁵ See Baker, 'When the second language and culture [...] replace or demote the first language, a subtractive form of bilingualism may occur. This may relate to a less positive self-concept, loss of cultural or ethnic identity, with possible alienation or marginalization' (2011, p. 72).

¹³⁶ Magarshack describes Liubimov as 'one of the finest Russian translators, insists that translation is an art. A man who dedicates himself to artistic translations' (n.d., Box 13).

during a walk' (1963, p. 124). For him, it is the in-depth, native feel for a language which imbues an otherwise expressionless phrase with 'living, natural and clear colloquial intonation' (ibid.). An inside knowledge of the target language allows the translator the best possible chance of capturing idioms, inflections and nuances which occur in a local dialect, and of expressing the native mind-set. Without such knowledge, the translator 'will not be able to expose the reader to the linguistic treasures of an original text, not to follow its linguistic diversity' (ibid.). Yet, for most of his working life, Magarshack worked at his desk from home each day (*Chicago Tribune*, 1963) – a microcosmic setting, therefore – and did 'not have a very sociable life outside the family' (Magarshack, 2014, p. 3). Magarshack's daughter describes her parents as being 'both very isolated' (ibid., p. 2), which would make the advice he gives to others in his taxonomy – 'Study of colloquial speech must be Conducted Everywhere' (n.d., p. 4) – all the more difficult to carry out in his own case.

Magarshack's unusually emotional response to Garnett's work and her legacy of misconceptions signifies his enhanced sensitivity towards Russia's image abroad:

If [...] a translation results in the creation of a spurious atmosphere, an atmosphere that is entirely alien to the particular work and could not possibly be part of it, then the translation is not only wrong, but also harmful, it is liable to give rise [...] 'to much international depreciation, if not contempt'. (General Principles, n.d., p. 18)

Like the émigrés in Garnett's circle of friends, Magarshack seemingly shared that same desire, living in the West as a Russian émigré, to serve as a 'viaduct[s] for the flow of Russian literature' (Speaker, 2006, p. 2). He had an inside knowledge of the Russian cultural landscape – still regarded at that time as mystifying to most of the UK – and translation allowed him to continue to access this knowledge even in self-imposed exile. Magarshack also hoped to undo the harm done by his predecessors and suggests in his taxonomy that the Russian classics should be re-translated every 25 years, allowing for serious errors to be flushed out sooner than under Garnett's almost fifty-year reign. Regular re-translations would allow for the linguistic changes which occur as a language evolves.

That the West should recognise the greatness of Russian literature and its literary translator is an absorbing preoccupation for Magarshack. In reality, though, achieving such recognition would have been an uphill struggle given the national memory of both the Crimean War and the Great Game a century before. For Magarshack, though, the convergence of opportunity and timing in the form of Penguin's Russian Classics was

ideal considering Penguin's focus on creating a library of Russia's cultural heritage which would transcend all eras. Magarshack found his *raison d'être* in the West by providing a cross-cultural literary service – with a high degree of authenticity – which few were qualified at that time to offer in the UK. By constructing a persona around his ability to offer something which others generally could not (his potential rivals – Nabokov, Yarmolinksii, and latterly Gibian and Terras – settled in the suitably-distant US), Magarshack was able to make a name for himself in the UK both as one of 'the keepers of an authentic Russian tradition and culture' (Bethea and Frank, 2011, p. 199) and as a '*cultural custodian* responsible for the shaping of local culture' (Sela-Sheffy, 2008, p. 611).

Nabokov is someone of similar background to Magarshack and whose opinions on translation Magarshack observed with interest. Magarshack was not always entirely opposed to Nabokov's views. They both assumed gatekeeper positions, shared the same contempt for the literary reviewer who 'neither has, nor would be able to have, without special study, any knowledge whatsoever of the original' (Nabokov, 1955, p. 115) and, to quote Magarshack, 'there are not many critics of note who have enough Russian to be able to express an authoritative opinion on a translation of a Russian classic' (Magarshack, n.d., p.1). They also agreed on the issue of underperforming translators: personified for Magarshack by Garnett and, for Nabokov, by any translator steeped in 'sheer unacquaintance of Russian life' (Nabokov, 1955, p. 122). On the whole, though, Magarshack and Nabokov approached translation from very different angles and, for this reason, the task of recognising and evaluating Magarshack's theorising and Penguin practice becomes clearer when Nabokov is used as a foil.¹³⁷

In 'Problems of Translation: *Onegin* in English' (1955), Nabokov lauds word-by-word faithfulness to the text:

The term 'literal translation' is tautological since anything but that is not truly a translation but an imitation, an adaptation or parody. (p. 121)

Magarshack objected to Nabokov's devotion to literalism out of concern for the reader. He writes that 'a translator who is insensitive to the reactions of his readers also produces merely a travesty of the original (example: Nabokov's translation of Eugene Onegin)' (Synopsis, n.d., p.1, Magarshack's underlinings). Magarshack continues in a public letter to *The New York Review of Books*:

¹³⁷ In a similar fashion, Nabokov has also been compared to Jakobson in Baer's essay, 'Translation Theory and Cold War Politics, Roman Jakobson and Vladimir Nabokov in 1950s America' (2011, pp. 171-186).

I warmly agree with Edmund Wilson's views of Nabokov's incompetence as a translator. In fact, his 'translation' of Eugene Onegin is a grotesque travesty of that great poem. It is yet one more sad example of how a man can be blind to his own shortcomings. (26 August 1965)

Magarshack's anti-*bukvalist* position strongly points to his support of the Soviet school of translation and, by contrast, highlights Nabokov's distance from it. In direct opposition to Nabokov's views that 'the term "free translation" smacks of knavery and tyranny' (1995, p. 114), Magarshack believed that 'purple passages [...] sound grotesque if translated literally into English' (Magarshack, n.d., p. 12). In more general terms, his view was that:

We should pride ourselves less upon literality and more upon dexterity at paraphrase. It seems clear that, by such dexterity, a translation may be made to convey to a foreigner a more just conception of an original than the original itself. (Ibid., p. 17)

Magarshack believed that not just good but excellence could come from careful moments of textual deviation – 'Deviations from original sometimes harmful, sometimes acceptable, but sometimes excellent' (Taxonomy, Magarshack, n.d., p. 2)¹³⁸ – a flexibility which, according to his later theorising, Nabokov's translation practice could not have tolerated.

The two translators also differed over their use of footnotes, adopting entirely polarised positions. Where Nabokov stated about his *Onegin* translation, 'I want translations with copious footnotes, footnotes reaching up like skyscrapers to the top of this or that page' (1955, p. 127),¹³⁹ Magarshack's view again echoes a more Soviet view of translatability:

The thing to avoid in dealing with these [...] difficulties is the footnote; for a footnote is a translator's confession of failure. It immediately distracts the attention of the reader from the text and, in a passage charged with emotion, may destroy the whole effect the author has laboriously built up. Difficult words in the text have to be translated, not explained way. (General Principles, n.d., pp. 19-20)

The footnote debate is still being rehearsed in general terms (Landers, 2001, pp. 93-94; Ying, 2008; Lourie, 1992; and Newmark, 1988, pp. 91-93), with attempts to classify when footnotes are, or are not, acceptable or useful. Magarshack aimed to make the

¹³⁸ Whilst Magarshack does not cite specific examples of his work as excellent deviations, his departures from Russian-naming norms could arguably be considered excellent at a time when the UK's mass lay-readership, only just accessing the previously elitist world of Russian literature, was attempting to grapple with consonant-rich Russian names.

¹³⁹ Nicholas Warner argues that Nabokov's fixation with footnotes reflects more his own narcissistic attempts to divert attention away from the source author and back to himself (1986, p. 168).

journey easy and accessible for all his target readers. In the spirit of Rieu's guidance for Penguin translations,¹⁴⁰ he avoided footnotes, often smoothed out syntax, and toned down Russianness (names are Anglicised – contrary to Chukovskii's advice – with additions of Mr and Mrs; patronymics are often omitted; and culture-specific references are paraphrased, Anglicised, or omitted). Magarshack satisfied the aspirations of the early Penguin Classics with these decisions, but he also replicated this approach with other publishers too, suggesting a natural inclination towards domestication, but also a contemporary publishing trend to avoid unnecessary textual interruptions.

The final distinction between the two translators concerns the size and identity of their intended target audiences. In the same way that Bourdieu categorises cultural production into 'high-brow' and 'middle-brow' (1993, p. 82 and *ibid.*, p. 129), the latter being aimed at the mass public but borrowing some of its cultural inspiration from high art, Savory (1968) also identified four literary categories of translation attracting specific audience types operating on different levels of sophistication:

1. The translation of 'purely informative statements' (p.20).
2. Almost characterless translations made 'for the general reader', (p.21).
3. Works which, in the past, 'have so appealed both to translators and their critics' (p. 23).
4. The translation of all 'learned, scientific and technical matter' (p.23).

Savory may have had Penguin Classics in mind when he identified the second audience. He writes that 'Forty, even thirty years ago no publisher could for a moment have considered the production of large numbers of translated works in cheap paperback format: yet the miracle has happened' (1968, p. 47). Nevertheless, there is an implied sense of mild distaste about the 'characterless' universality of this category (and yet it was the general reader's vote of confidence for such literature that ensured Penguin's success – economically and symbolically – and that of its commissioned freelancers). Preferring the smooth, artistic rendering, Magarshack belongs to this second category. Magarshack defines a perfect translation as being 'when it ceases to be a translation, when, that is, the English reader is not conscious of reading a work originally written in a foreign language' (General Principles, n.d., p. 30). Expanding this view further, he writes:

The important point is that a translation can be enjoyed side by side with the original. A good translation of a work of art, in short, is not a substitute for the original, but a living copy of it [...]. (*Ibid.*)

¹⁴⁰ See Rieu's letter to Kitto, 21 October 1944 (Ref.: DM1938).

By contrast, Nabokov sits most comfortably within the third category of highly scholarly literary translation, aiming his rendering of *Eugene Onegin* at a more broadly intellectual audience. Nabokov '[...] certainly did not perceive translation, or any art, in terms of mass production or mass appeal' (Leighton, 1991, p.181). Nabokov's non-populist, *bukvalist* stance sets him at odds with Magarshack's and Rieu's aspirations of readable translations for the general reader. For all Magarshack's criticism and comment about Nabokov's practice, though, Nabokov remained silent.¹⁴¹ Described by Yuri Leving as a 'self-taught émigré maverick who virtually sensed the market with a gut instinct and learned to navigate it by trial and error' (2013, p. 103), Nabokov, in his multifarious literary roles, and with the film success of *Lolita*, secured considerable economic and reputational capital and a key position in the US as a representative of Russia abroad. In these contexts, Nabokov became more famous than Magarshack and the sense of rivalry rests with Magarshack alone.

Expressions of Translatorial *Hexis*

Although Magarshack's private collection does not contain a copy of Savory's *The Art of Translation* (1968), Savory's memorable list of conflicting instructions for would-be translators is mirrored in Magarshack's own four-page checklist for translation, a taxonomy entitled 'General' (n.d., Box 13; see Appendix 3 for the full transcript).

Magarshack's checklist also contains contradictions and incompatibilities, but there is no way of discerning whether these are intentional. The list consists of unadorned maxims which leave the reader occasionally having to infer his intended meaning. What is clear from these statements, though, is that he and his practice reflect a complicated amalgam of Western and Soviet norms influencing his various approaches to translation.

Magarshack's taxonomy is an attempt to articulate the best of these Western and Soviet strategies and to evaluate the UK translation industry from a position of twenty years' experience; in doing so, it also embodies Magarshack's translatorial *hexis*. Magarshack's written allegiance to certain professional values (Charlston, 2013, pp. 56-57) provides insight into personal complexities. In a bid to classify Magarshack's rather haphazard manifesto, I have condensed the most common and striking statements to the following

¹⁴¹ Magarshack's letter to *The New York Review of Books* criticising Nabokov's translation of *Onegin* was published in the same issue (26 August 1965) as Nabokov's own response to Wilson's review. There is every likelihood that Nabokov would have been aware of Magarshack's views.

three categories, all of which ‘reveal something about the complex, decision-making process involved in’ Magarshack’s translation practice (ibid., p. 57). The three categories are: Gatekeeping; Strategy and Style; The “Good” Translator. I shall now address each category in turn.

Gatekeeping

Magarshack includes a number of statements which are written from the position of someone straddling two identities. On the one hand, as a native Russian, he has a justified claim on the source text, author and culture, a sentiment which permeates his statements. There is a sense of national pride and ownership in Magarshack’s statements. Yet, on the other, he expresses the unfulfilled self-worth of an aspiring but under-appreciated émigré:

Translator must adopt the Very soul of the Author which must speak through his own Organs (p. 1)¹⁴²

True Character of Author’s Style (Ibid.)

Genius of Translator must be akin to that of Original Author (Ibid.)

Translator must be Recognised as the Creator of a New Work (Ibid.)

Translator must Serve Author more than Himself (p. 3)

Must Keep Perfect Equilibrium between Literalness and Total Freedom: Can only be achieved by Translator who is a good Writer or Poet in his own right (Ibid.)

Recognition of Translator’s Art by Prizes (Ibid.)

Defects of Standard Translations: Failure to Suggest Author nor merely Great Mind but Great Writer (p. 4)

These statements portray Magarshack as a translator who believes in fidelity to the source text and loyalty, bordering on subjugation, to the source author, as if the translator bears a special duty to guard and preserve the source culture on its journey into the target culture. Although he doesn’t openly state as much, Magarshack constructs a case for regarding the translator, especially the loyal émigré translator, as a ‘keeper’ of the home culture (Bethea and Frank, 2011, p. 25), someone vested with the necessary skills, cultural background and emotional sensibilities to interpret the source culture accurately and authentically and to make it available to an uninitiated target culture. Without some cultural sign-posting, the target audience may ‘find themselves in a foreign society and present [...] at a ritual to which they do not hold the key’ (Bourdieu,

¹⁴² Magarshack’s capitalisation.

1993, p. 217). In *Gatekeepers: The Emergence of World Literature and the 1960s* (2016), William Marling explains further that without literary gatekeepers, a nation's literary canon may never be selected in the first place, or may never be properly integrated into the world literary canon. According to Marling, 'Translators are among the most important gatekeepers' (ibid., p.6), they:

[...] acquire, develop, and then exploit a double cultural competence, a mastery of two sets of cultural information, in the use of which they become aware of cross-cultural discrepancies. (ibid., p.5)

Gatekeeper status is important to Magarshack. On the one hand, he wants to take control of the way in which the source culture, his native literary canon, is being portrayed and Penguin, the publisher of the day, becomes his best vehicle for achieving this aim. On the other, he wants status and identity for himself, to be regarded as one of only a very select few endowed with the necessary skills and special talent to redefine the 'real' Russia and classic Russian literature in the UK. He wants to navigate a credible course for an enquiring target audience through the apparent 'otherworldliness' of Russian literature. By cultivating such a persona – that of 'genius-creator' whose competence is portrayed as something 'of a unique, unexplained gift' (Sela-Sheffy, 2008, p. 615) – Magarshack is able to secure a 'privileged standing' (ibid.) in his field. In his letter to Glover on 18 June 1952, he projects the impression of a "genius at work" as a means of negotiating alternative payment terms between commissions; he writes:

I have now to sit down to do a translation of OBLOMOV, which is one of the greatest works of art in Russian literature and is written in a style that is not as slapdash as Dostoyevsky's. It will require a tremendous lot of concentration and careful adaptation of an appropriate English style. (DM1107/L40)

He is also described in an interview for *The Stage* in 1956 as having established himself 'as a Chekhov propagandist' and is quoted as saying that his book on Chekhov has 'already influenced Chekhov production considerably' (Marriott, p. 8). Magarshack increases the value of his personal capital by emphasising his unique talents, which in turn increases his chances of obtaining ongoing work in the Russian literary translation market (a trend which Sela-Sheffy also identifies in her research into Hebrew translators (2008, p. 620)). Magarshack takes care to emphasise that these select few are translators who possess 'genius' creativity, striking the right balance between respect for the original author and the reader's needs. Magarshack's view that the translator is the genius-creator of a brand new work is also shared by the Soviet school of translation.

In *Vysokoe isskustvo*, Chukovskii defines the translator's burden of responsibility to match the original author's greatness:

[...] a translator does not photograph an original text, he re-creates it through art. The text of the original serves him as material for a complex and often inspired creative work. The translator is first of all a man of talent. In order to translate Balzac, he must [...] impersonate Balzac by assimilating his temperament and emotional makeup, his poetic feeling for life. (1965-67, p. 6)

Magarshack defines translation in his own way, building on these creative metaphors and directly borrowing Marshak's (1956, p. 92) comparable analogy of translation as portraiture vs. photography:

[...] a translation can be claimed to be perfect when it can be enjoyed side by side with the original. A good translation is a work of art, in short, is not a substitute for the original, but a living copy of it, in the same way in which a portrait is a living copy of a person and photograph is not. (General Principles, Magarshack, n.d., pp. 30-31)

Lefevere also discusses translator genius. Unlike the Soviet school, which embraces the union of theory with highly artistic, 'genius' practice, for Lefevere, the labelling of a translator as 'genius' in the Western tradition comes at the price of such a union. He writes:

[...] if a unique work of literature is well translated, the translator must, quite simply be a genius too, and like any genius he is liable to tread lonely clouds that soar high above all theory. (1981, p. 71)

In the Soviet tradition, all converging agents – publisher, editor and translator – share the same aim, of producing a cultural good of artistic merit. Translation assumed a level of prestige for the Soviets, discussed in terms of national talent, which has never been achieved to the same extent in the UK. In a world of ideological capital, though, the rewards were different for the Soviet translator; they received the prized, non-commercial status of artist. According to Chukovskii, 'a good translator deserves respect in our literary world because he is not a handyman, not a copyist, but an artist' (1965-67, p. 6). Echoing Chukovskii's view (but, it should be noted, not eschewing the gains of economic capital), Magarshack states in his taxonomy: 'Main thing in artistic translations is talent: knowledge of language is not enough' (General, p. 3). Magarshack's mantra for recognition indicates his perceived shortfall in capital; he is constantly aspiring to even greater success which fails to materialise. Even in his earliest stages of negotiation with Penguin over his contract for *Crime and Punishment*, Magarshack had written to Glover stating that, 'I am no amateur, and my books have been published and are due to be published by well-known publishing houses, including Allen & Unwin, Faber & Faber,

and John Lehmann' (DM1107, L23). Sela-Sheffy observes from her own research that translators have been 'striving to establish translation as an autonomously gratifying art-trade in its own right, with its own distinctive aura', where the 'performers of literary translation [...] make claim to fame and maintain a public persona as "creative translators," sometimes to the point of gaining stardom as translators' (2008, p. 614). Magarshack does not at any point mention the translator's salary (and royalties) as a means of recognition, rather he appeals for prizes (General, p. 3) and labels such as 'Genius' and 'Creator' (ibid., p. 1). What Magarshack is looking for on top of economic capital, therefore, is public and professional acclaim, reputational capital, a form of worth which symbolises national, even international, acceptance and deference for him, for the émigré.

Strategy and Style

The next grouping of statements informs us of Magarshack's remit as a commissioned freelancer ensuring a style to satisfy both Rieu's and Chukovskii's notions of equivalent effect:

Translator must figure to himself in What Manner the Original Author would have expressed himself if he had Written in the language of the translation (p. 1)

Style and Manner of Writing Same as the Original (Ibid.)

Translation must have all the Ease of the Original Composition (Ibid.)

Ease must not degenerate into licentiousness (Ibid.)

Prose works more Difficult to Render than Verse because of idiosyncratic style (Ibid.)

Faithfulness to Tone, Mood and Content of Original while thinking: How would original author have said this if he had been writing in English? (p. 2)

Deviations from original sometimes harmful, sometimes acceptable but sometimes Excellent (Ibid.)

Translator must be able to imagine clearly and distinctly the inner portraits of the characters of original (p. 3)

When taken together, the above statements reiterate Magarshack's sense of fidelity to the source author and original text, but he now turns his thoughts to the target reader too and his practical role becomes one of go-between. Magarshack's observations echo Rieu's edict that 'If you're going to apply the principle of equivalent effect, you've got to examine very carefully the style, the spirit and the meaning of the original' (1955, p. 154). Magarshack, however, refracts the principle into individual commands: produce

equivalent responses in the target reader, honour the author's style and spirit, recreate the ease of the original. Magarshack's statement on textual deviation also chimes with Rieu's views. In his interview, Rieu gives one of his own examples, from Luke 22:15, where deviation is, in his opinion, preferable to a literal translation:

[...] the words, 'with desire I have desired' are not English and never have been. The idiom is not even Greek. It is one of Luke's bits of Semitic Greek, going straight back to the Hebrew. And here we're all justified in abandoning the phrase, however hallowed it may seem. (Ibid.)

It follows from Rieu's justification for deviation, therefore, that a key question in his practice, and similarly for Magarshack, is audience: for whom did the original author write, and for whom must the translator recreate? Rieu explains:

[the Gospels] were written, not for the man on the street, but for the man in the congregation, and [...] we must not write down to him [...]. There is good reason for thinking that the original audience of the Gospels found them just as difficult as we do; and therefore, if we paraphrase or lower our standard of English to make things crystal clear [...], we're going beyond our jobs as translators. (Ibid.)

Magarshack also values audience, observing:

If a certain phrase or word used in a certain context raises a smile from the Russian reader, then it is the business of the translator to make sure that the same kind of smile is raised in an English reader, or else that passage might as well be left untranslated. (General Principles, n.d., p. 6)

A writer does not work in a vacuum: he writes for an audience. Eliminate the audience and you eliminate art. (Ibid.)

Magarshack ascribes the power of visualisation to achieving an appropriate transfer of the original's flavour into the target text. More than once, he discusses the need for the translator to capture a visual image of the source author's intentions and to 'feel' through creativity how best to render an image through words. Magarshack's advice is couched in artistic, sensory terminology, where authorship and translation are acts of creative skill to be performed before an audience. On handling the Russian verb, for example, he combines visualisation with Soviet discipline:

To a remarkable visual artist like Gogol, [...] the Russian verb offers countless opportunities for painting a whole picture in two or three words. It is hardly ever possible to obtain the same effect in English, and what the translator has to do first of all is to visualise the picture clearly and then reproduce it with the utmost economy and precision of which he is capable. (n.d., p. 24)

Furthermore, according to Magarshack, the translator's work, compared to the author's job, is considerably more demanding (Sela-Sheffy, 2008, p. 617), a view which, as we have seen, Magarshack is keen to point out to Penguin on receiving Glover's letter (26 May 1954) regarding corrections Magarshack has made to page proofs of the *Oblomov*

translation. In his letter, Glover reminds Magarshack of the contractual clause which 'provides that any author's corrections in excess of an amount equal to 10% of the composition charge for the book should fall on the author' (DM1107/L40). Appalled by the notion of not being 'likely to get any royalties for a year or more' if he has to foot 10% of the composition charge, Magarshack makes the distinction in his reply to Glover between the nature of an author's and a translator's corrections; he writes, 'I disagree with your point about the difference between an original work and a translation. It is just a translation that requires a great deal more changing' (27 May 1954, Ref.: DM1107/L40).

The "Good" Translator

Having established the strength of Magarshack's belief in the principle of equivalent effect, this section groups those statements which Magarshack issued as an experienced language specialist, adding his own views to the questions of the day, namely, which skill-sets and background a "good" translator must possess, and which influences hamper a translator's progress:

Perfect Knowledge of Language of Original (p. 1)

Complete Acquaintance with the Subject (Ibid.)

Only Realism founded on Solid and Firm Foundation of Life and not Book
Knowledge results in fruitful and Active Method of Artistic Translation (Ibid.)¹⁴³

Impossible criticise translation from a language the Critic is only vaguely familiar with (p.3)

Importance of thorough knowledge of background (Ibid.)

Parochialism of assigning review books to Professors of the language in question (Ibid.)

Translator's Organic Contact with Life (p. 4)

Translator must Live in Country whose language is that of the Translation (Ibid.)

Many of these statements are standard views, shown by Munday (2008, pp. 23-27) to be long held by practising translators (Luther, Tyndale, Dolet, etc.). (Of the five most important principles of translation set out by Dolet, for example, the top two match Magarshack's own statements.) It makes best practical sense for the translator to have complete acquaintance with the subject, the language of the original and target cultures, and a thorough knowledge of the background to a text. Magarshack's observations

¹⁴³ Magarshack's underlining.

reveal more, however, about the UK translation industry. He argues that the Russian-English literary translation scene was being misinterpreted and misrepresented by ill-informed critics with minimal knowledge of Russian. At the same time, though, he expresses disgruntlement that only Professors of Russian were being assigned books to review. Magarshack's views are steeped in frustration: at critics who may destroy a translator with ill-informed verdicts, and at monopolising academics, paid and recognised for their critiques while, on both counts, proven practitioners like him remained repeatedly overlooked. I maintain that Magarshack articulates a sense of devaluation which continues today (Baker discusses this professional malaise in *In Other Words* (1992, p. 2)), but by contrast, the Magarshack of the 1960s was ahead of his average modern counterpart. Throughout his career, Magarshack had a very clear sense of and belief in his status and worth, and held firm aspirations to change the (self-) perception of the translator.

Theoretical Incompatibilities

When considered as a collective whole, Savory-style contradictions begin to emerge in Magarshack's taxonomic statements. For example, he states that 'Ease must not degenerate into licentiousness' yet he also prescribes the translator the 'Liberty to add or Correct Where Sense of Author is Doubtful' and 'Liberty to Correct Careless or Inaccurate Expression' (n.d., p. 1). He states that the 'Translator must Serve Author more than Himself' (ibid., p. 3) but as already discussed, his critical opinion of Nabokov suggests that this rule has its limitations and can be taken too far in practice. To have consistently declared poetry untranslatable given the impossibility of achieving full equivalence, Magarshack states the opposite in his taxonomy, namely that prose in fact outstrips poetry for the difficulties it poses through idiosyncrasies. Magarshack's change of mind runs counter to mainstream opinion at that time, which makes his new stance an original one. I would argue that whilst his opinion is arguably legitimate, the aim of such a volte-face might also be to deflect attention away from any potential poet-translator-genius and still place him, the prose translator, in the highest category of wordsmith.

A sense of professional indemnity also emerges in Magarshack's list where, for example, he reiterates the importance of capturing the essence of the original text and of the author, but also allows scope for falling short of such a goal. He states that there

must be 'Faithfulness to Tone, Mood and Content of Original while thinking: How would original author have said this if he had been writing in English?' (ibid., p.2) but adds that 'Imitation of Style Regulated by the Nature of Genius of the Languages of Original and Translation' (ibid., p. 1); and 'Any Translation is Merely the Creation of an Approximation but there is a Limit of Such an Approximation when we can speak of the untranslatability of a Work' (ibid., p.2). Arguably, this last statement allows for a more realistic approach to (un)translatability than Koptilov's view but it distances Magarshack from the Soviet School on this occasion.

Attempts to condense the views in Magarshack's taxonomy to a workable, prescriptive formula (as with Vinay and Darbelnet, Reiss, Newmark, Berman, etc.), might justifiably be discarded on the grounds that his points are too nebulous and, at times, polarised, to offer concrete guidance to aspiring translators. In its current state, Magarshack's list appears to have been provisional and would likely have been edited for publication. Nevertheless, Sela-Sheffy offers the view that contradictions in a translator's practice reflect the 'Sisyphean existential condition of the translator, whose emotional burden is immense, knowing that his/her search for perfection is beyond human reach' (2008, p. 615). It is difficult at times to distinguish between the points of which Magarshack was convinced and the points which he included merely for the sake of retrospective justification or conforming to translation discourse etiquette. The Soviet school recognised that 'theory must be derived from practice' (Leighton, 1991, p. 70) and similar perspectives exist in the West too.¹⁴⁴ There is, therefore, nothing especially untoward in Magarshack adopting this retrospective position.

Recommendations for Teaching Translation

Magarshack concludes his theorising with a comment on the present and a vision for the future. He urges British universities to disseminate their knowledge of Russian language and literature, lamenting that even by the 1970s, chairs of Russian language and literature at British universities were still thin on the ground:

[...] the academic mind in this country is still apt to regard Russia as a 'terra incognita' and the study of Russian literature as so exotic an occupation that only a few cognoscenti are fit for it [...] it is as important now as a chair of French or German language and literature [sic], or even a chair of Latin and Greek. (n.d., p. 33)

¹⁴⁴ Postgate, for example, introduces his book with a discussion of the benefits of retrospective evaluation (1922, p. 3).

By having full academic recognition of Russian letters up and down the country, Magarshack hoped to create a 'nucleus of informed opinion' (ibid.) and a new generation of better-informed translators and critics. After twenty years of mistrust and criticism for academics and critics, there is, finally, acknowledgment from Magarshack that fair academic evaluation might be a useful tool: let academia work constructively within the field, rather than without.

In terms of training future translators, he envisaged (with some degree of foresight) British universities stationing students with creative writing ability at Russian universities, thereby enabling them to become immersed in the study of Russian language and literature. The combination of natural literary talent and exposure to Russian life, he hoped, would go on to produce the ideal cadre of future translators. His acknowledgment that translation should be taught in British universities and his views on how this might be achieved were perhaps inspired by the long-held Soviet commitment to sponsoring literary translators to train at the Gorkii Literary Institute and in higher education institutions (Komissarov in Baker and Saldanha, 2009, p. 522), although, whether aspiring Soviet translators gained sufficient, or indeed any, practical language experience in the West is questionable.

Conclusion

This chapter has combined historical and sociological approaches in order to analyse the intellectual manifestations of Magarshack's personal and professional experiences which present themselves in his previously unexplored private papers and theorising. The events and dispositions which constitute his habitus and which have been discussed in relation to his theory-writing include: his post-emigration relationship with Russia; his desire to be remembered in the USSR and respected intellectually in the UK; his concern about the distorted image of Russia created by non-Russians in English translation; his criticism and envy of Garnett (as a non-native Russian) for monopolising the field of Russian literature in translation; his convergence with Rieu's (Penguin's) translation strategy and conscious divergence from Nabokov's; his self-image as a specially privileged gatekeeper; and his craving for professional recognition as a literary genius-creator. The interpretation of this complex amalgam of experiences and associated responses – Magarshack's 'slow process of inculcation' (Simeoni, 1998, p. 5) – has enabled us better to understand the values, motivations and occasional

contradictions in Magarshack's own translation theorising, and it will enable us in the next chapter to evaluate his translated text with new insight. This archival analysis has also provided an opportunity to interrogate the usability of Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, concluding that whilst it is a beneficial concept for broad generalisations in Translation Studies, at the same time, there is a risk of simplistic readings of complex sociological questions regarding the relationship between *habitus*, *skopos*, and practice. There is a need, therefore, for more refined scrutiny of such terms. This analysis has suggested that Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* could usefully be substituted for this study with Charlston's notion of *hexis*, which can accommodate more refined explorations of translatorial dispositions and which might provide Translation Studies researchers with a new way of approaching sociological frameworks. Charlston's application of *hexis* allows for a more positively and dynamically inflected view of the translator's stance. (Therefore, hereafter, I shall continue to use the term *habitus*, but in the context of Magarshack demonstrating feelings of entitlement and empowerment, I shall use *hexis* instead.)

As an émigré straddling two cultures, Magarshack's combined knowledge of Soviet as well as European translation traditions enabled him to circumvent binary restrictions in practice, to adopt a liberating notion of translatorial latitude. I argue that this approach may yet mark him out as something of a theoretical pioneer in Russian-English translation in the West. Western translation approaches have often crystallised into an irresistible duality which has preoccupied theorists as far back as St. Jerome and Schleiermacher. Such thinking has led the Western school to seek an all-encompassing and universal theory, 'a consensus on how translations should be approached and studied' (Arrojo, 2013, p. 123), which hints at a more predictable and formulaic approach to translation. For Magarshack, theory existed as a response to a practical problem, a view shared by the Georgian poet-translator Elizbar Ananiashvili:

When Soviet translators began their campaign to educate critics, they could point out that theory had been developed in practice [...] the greatest value of Soviet translation theory is that 'it does not prescribe norms and point to rules,' but rather generalizes experience with the intent of helping practice. (Leighton, 1991, pp. 70-71)

Magarshack's affinity with the Soviet school of translation, however, lacks criticism, suggesting a potential bias or naivety on his part. Willing blindness (as it would be termed in the twenty-first century) regarding aspects of the Soviet regime was not entirely uncommon among Russian exiles:

Curiously, a number of Soviet émigrés – many of whom left the USSR owing to dissatisfaction with the regime – seemed to share the official view of Soviet cultural accomplishments. True, they lacked reliable information; but their somewhat idealized picture of Soviet literary translation may also have had a psychological foundation in a need to believe that their country of origin did have some redeeming qualities. (Friedberg, 1997, p. 6)

If there is naivety on Magarshack's part, I assert that it can be attributed to his ongoing sense of marginalisation, the fact that after such a long career in English words working for a number of respected British publishing houses, he could still be regarded as a foreigner. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, though, Magarshack would have struggled with Soviet editorship. The relative autonomy he enjoyed as a Western translator contrasts greatly with the micro-managed world of the Soviet translator, for whom, according to Baer, 'the term "free", which is often used to describe the Soviet School approach, is something of a misnomer insofar as the practice of translation was in fact highly constrained' (2016, p. 130).

Throughout his career, Magarshack saved his most assertive letters and acerbic criticism for editors, academics, and literary critics, in fact for anyone who challenged his work. (See, for example, his letter of 12 March 1964 to Penguin Classics editor Mr Plaat, in which he writes concerning changes to his Chekhov stories, 'I should like to protest at the way alterations were made in my text without my knowledge or consent. I am appalled at the way two stories had their titles altered' (MS1397). He adopts an even more defensive tone when challenged by Robin Milner-Gulland over his translation of Pasternak's biography; Magarshack regards 'his frenzied attempt to cast a slur on my reputation as a personal attack by some disgruntled academic' (letter from Magarshack to his agent Mr Rosenthal, 29 April 1971. (MS1397).) Whilst Magarshack's correspondence reveals huge respect for Rieu, other letters to Penguin editors reveal a frequently frustrated or resistant Magarshack, sometimes a caustic one and it is his dogged assertiveness combined with queries over his translations which results in him ultimately falling 'out of favour' (Letter from Cochrane to Duguid, 24 January 1964, Ref.: DM1107/L143). For these reasons, therefore, it is unlikely that Magarshack would have flourished under the rigour of a more controlling, Soviet system of editorship.

It is clear, though, that Magarshack – even having made his living and reputation working for Penguin, the most recognisable publisher of the day – sought Soviet-style affirmation in the West, calling in his *Taxonomy* for prizes to raise the status of the UK translator. Rather than attempt to battle for this development in his early years as an

emerging translator, with little power, position or influence over the field, I assert that Magarshack raised the idea late in his career once he had safely distinguished himself (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 184) as a reputable name in the literary field. This assertion challenges Bourdieu's generalised estimation of the translator (2008, p. 148) seemingly at the margins of the field and without prospects for professional satisfaction or progression. Magarshack's career demonstrates a developing social identity, an ability to maximise opportunities and construct a secure position in the field as both an essential bridge between cultures and as a creative artist (Sela-Sheffy, 2008, p. 620). Magarshack used the symbolic capital he had acquired at Penguin to best effect as a lever with which to challenge his industry's norms – urging the industry to place greater value on the translator's role – and with which to further his own reputation. Magarshack received words of praise for his achievements at Penguin – W.J. Igoe wrote in the *Chicago Tribune* that 'Magarshack has done more than any other writer [or, indeed, group of writers] to make Russian literature available in worthy form to the English-speaking reading public. The list of authors he has brought us is awe-inspiring' (1963, p. 3) – and looking at the field today, Magarshack would no doubt have rejoiced in the emergence since of numerous prestigious literary translation awards (PEN, The Rossica Prize, Rossica Young Translators Prize, etc.) and, with them, the long-overdue recognition that the literary translator is visible, an artist and a worthy recipient of a small slice of fame.

Chapter Five: Locating Magarshack's Translation Theory in His Practice

Introduction

This chapter combines a textual approach with reference to historical/archival material in order to analyse 'surface manifestations' of Magarshack's *hexis* and his theoretical views on translation as examined in Chapter Four. Given that Magarshack's livelihood was dependent on his (primarily Penguin) translations, and his reputation and financial success were founded on translation practice, textual analysis is essential in this case study. Chapter Five requires a departure, therefore, from the Bourdieusian model. Arguing in favour of the sociological turn, Meylaerts observes that Gideon Toury's Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), the sociological turn's predecessor, 'has until recently privileged structure instead of agency' (2006, p. 60). Simeoni acknowledges Toury's belief that the translated text contains 'surface manifestations' (Simeoni, 1998, p. 5) of the translator's 'mental and social products' (ibid.) – in other words, the translated text bears the marks of the 'environmental circumstances' which feature in a translator's life and career (*habitus*) and become a part of their 'mental apparatus' (ibid.) – but he invites scholars at this point to put the text to one side (ibid., p. 33) in order to focus attention primarily on the long-overlooked agent instead. There is a risk, however, that agency becomes privileged at the expense of the translated text. Gouanvic acknowledges that 'Bourdieu's theory was not designed for translation' (2010, p. 121); it is a 'theory of action, meaning that it theorizes practice, which we extend to translation, to translation practice' (ibid., p. 122). Building on Gouanvic, Pym offers his own, more precise, assessment of the incompatibilities which arise from applying Bourdieu's theory to text-based analysis:

[...] a lot of research lacks enough subject data to talk about habitus in any full way (e.g. if the textual analysis of translations suggests a tendency to adopt certain solutions, that says nothing about the thoughts, feelings, or bodily aspects of the translator's activity – if what you have is a tendency to adopt certain textual solutions, you cannot really say anything interesting about habitus). (2011, pp. 82-83)

In this respect, I believe there is a danger that Bourdieu's 'sociological vision of practice' (Gouanvic, 2010, p. 122), as it is applied to Translation Studies, over-theorises agency and results in overlooking the end product itself, the translated text. Whilst the application of Bourdieu's model provides means with which to analyse the agency behind a published translation, I maintain that the full appreciation of this study can

only be achieved by reuniting the agents with their finished product, examining how their agency is reflected therein. Charlston advocates this approach, which links 'disparate factors in an inter-disciplinary manner, drawing on', in his case, 'translation studies, sociology and the history of philosophy' (2013, p. 57).

The existence of Magarshack's theoretical reflections lends an extra dimension of analysis which can be applied to his works. I shall, therefore, combine Magarshack's primary concerns and principles as outlined in his notes, lectures, interviews and articles on translation theory with an analysis of his Penguin practice and professional idiosyncrasies as seen in his 1955 Penguin translation of Dostoevskii's *The Idiot*, the fourth of his seven Penguin publications. The rare presence of such reflective material makes it possible to explore the rationale behind some of the practical decisions he was consciously making in his translation process and to ascertain the extent to which his practice was influenced, perhaps constrained, by his personal set of dispositions (his translatorial *hexis*) and the dispositions of the field: his good, but non-native English; his commitment to creating an image of Russia alternative to the one created by Garnett; his use of the gatekeeper position to determine which culture-specific terms should be paraphrased or simply omitted.

It will be possible in this chapter to ascertain whether Magarshack's émigré image of Russia can be classed as any more realistic than Garnett's and, on a broader scale, we may also begin to gauge how representative Penguin's Russian Classics were of their originals. I will be analysing whether the essence of a source text might have been compromised for Rieu's aspirations of mass accessibility or for a translator's personal preferences, and, indeed, whether any of this matters if the translations met the immediate needs of their large and relatively uninitiated target readership. Finally, I shall consider observations which were made about Magarshack's work by his reviewer contemporaries, and have been made by reviewers since.

Whilst it will also be useful to make occasional references to other translations by Magarshack, the Penguin publication of *The Idiot* is interesting for two particular reasons. First, there is a lot of archival material for this translation because it was the catalyst for a business proposition – a limited edition publication in the US of Magarshack's newly translated version of Dostoevskii's *The Idiot* – whose negotiations sowed the first small but significant seed of doubt at Penguin about Magarshack's translations and could have resulted in a career-changing moment for Magarshack.

Secondly, *The Idiot* exemplifies a wide range of the textual complexities one would expect any translator of a Dostoevskii novel to face, complexities which were summarised by Nabokov (in his own inimitable way) as ‘the repetition of words and phrases, the intonation of obsession, the hundred-percent banality of every word, the vulgar soapbox eloquence’ (Bowers, 1981, p. 78). Magarshack’s *The Idiot* is a good benchmark, therefore, for how he approached Dostoevskii in translation generally, especially as Dostoevskii accounted for four of Magarshack’s seven Penguin translations.

Penguin and the Limited Editions Club

In March 1955, Glover wrote a letter to George Macy, founder of the Limited Editions Club, New York (Majure, 2012), regarding the possibility of the Limited Editions Club using a Magarshack translation. Updating him on the latest publications in the Penguin Classics series, Glover discusses the success so far of Magarshack’s translations of *The Devils*, *Crime and Punishment*, and *Oblomov*:

I think it has generally been agreed in the case of all these translations that they are considerably superior to the previous translations of Dostoyevsky and Goncharov’s work that have appeared in England. (Letter from Glover, 9 March 1955, Ref.: DM1107/L54).

Glover informs Macy that Penguin has just received Magarshack’s manuscript for a new translation of *The Idiot* and Macy’s reply (15 March 1955, Ref.: DM1107/L54) reveals that the Limited Editions Club has also been making preparations for a publication of *The Idiot*, with new illustrations and a revised version of Garnett’s translation courtesy of Ukrainian-born scholar, biographer and translator Dr Avrahm Yarmolinskii (Liptzin, 2007). Macy, however, expresses an interest in seeing the first chapter of Magarshack’s typescript with a view, potentially, to:

[...] taking out a copyright in America upon this translation, which could then be assigned to Penguin. I could pay two hundred and fifty pounds for the permission which I require, a sum which I hope our friends at Penguin will consider generous. (15 March 1955, Ref.: DM1107/L54)

Even though Penguin owned the copyright to Magarshack’s translations (letter from Glover to Ferry, 18 February 1958, Ref.: DM1107/L40), Magarshack may still have been surprised to learn later that his work had been assessed abroad with neither his knowledge, nor his assent. On the positive side, had the plan gone ahead, Magarshack would have been able to expand his reader base and increase his royalties from the US.

Macy's response to Magarshack's sample translation is not as effusive, however, as Penguin (and Magarshack) might have desired:

[...] I have persuaded a man who is something of an expert in Dostoievsky, and in translations from the Russian, to read this typescript and to compare it with the existing translation by Constance Garnett. I send you now a copy of his report, which will, I am sure, be at least interesting to you and your colleagues.

As a result of having this report, I have decided that I might as well proceed with the use of the Garnett translation, having it 'corrected' by an expert. (16 May 1955, Ref.: DM1107/L54)

The report is not included in the Penguin archive. In its absence, we can only surmise from Macy's letter that his expert could not find sufficient change or novelty in Magarshack's version to warrant the Limited Editions Club paying for a stake in Penguin's work. We do not know the identity of Macy's expert, but if it was Yarmolinskii, then there would have been a vested interest in him coming to this conclusion in order to secure his own project of revising Garnett. Regardless of the expert's identity, though, Macy's verdict must have come as something of a surprise to Penguin, and the expert's appraisal of Magarshack's translation – four books into his career at Penguin – could have had a damaging effect on his subsequent work for Penguin. Glover sent a copy of the reader's report to Magarshack, 'not with the least idea of forwarding the particular view, for for all I know you may have a very good answer to every point, but I thought at any rate it might interest you' (20 May 1955). Considering his opinion of Garnett's work, Magarshack's pride must have been dented to learn that 'they have decided not to use your version but prefer instead to use the Garnett translation revised and amended' (ibid.) In her contribution 'Translation and the Editor', which featured in the first issue of *Delos: A Journal On and Of Translation* (1968), Helen Wolff makes the observation, that:

Translators are for the most part very sensitive people, just as sensitive, I have found, as first-rate photographers and probably for the same reason. Translation and photography leave a doubt as to the 'uniqueness' of the performance. Someone else may try the same and do the 'copying' just as well if not better. Translators by and large are defensive, and understandably so. (p. 165)

This is a passage underlined by Magarshack in his own copy of *Delos* and, considering his defensive response to the reader's report, Wolff's evaluation of the translator's sensitive disposition is not far off the mark, it seems. Magarshack sent his own counter report to Glover (again, there is no copy in either the Magarshack or the Penguin archives), only to find out later that his response had been sent on to Macy (and his

evaluator). On finding out that his views had been passed on to the US expert, Magarshack wrote to Glover:

Thank you for your note of May 24th. I did not know you were going to transmit a copy of my letter to the source from which the criticisms came and I am wondering if I shouldn't have used more moderate language. Quod licet Iovi non licet bovi, as the Latin tag has it. Still, they may as well have it.

I think the phrase at the end of their reader's report, 'I am not anxious to make needless work for myself' is really priceless. Why 'needless'? Isn't he going to be paid for it? (25 May 1955, Ref.: DM1107/L54)

In the absence of Magarshack's counter report, the above passage at least provides some insight into Magarshack's emotional response to the reader and reveals more about the dispositions he embodies: he is simultaneously sensitive, defensive, self-assured and proud. By contrast, Macy's subsequent response, with its jocular admission of baiting, reveals his (and Glover's) position of editorial advantage:

In Latin America, people pay admission fees in order to watch two cocks battling, so it seems unfair that you and I should be getting, gratis, a ringside view of two 'experts in Russian' battling with each other. It seems unfair, also, that my cock should be resting behind anonymity. So I am sending him a copy of the note from Magarshack which you have sent me [...], and I am asking him, in all fairness, to release me from the pledge of anonymity by writing directly to you or directly to Magarshack in explanation of his own criticisms. There is no doubt that he is an expert, or that he is well-known to Magarshack. I am almost inclined to add that there is no doubt they are both right in their own way. (10 June 1955, Ref.: DM1107/L54)

This exchange demonstrates the nature of translator-editor relations: that, in the 1950s, the publisher owned the copyright on and had full permission to trade in manuscripts without notifying or seeking assent from the commissioned, and that gentle sport could also be had (admittedly, behind-the-scenes) at the freelancer's expense, one pitted against the other in a 1950s long-distance 'translation slam'. The exchange also represents the first significant question mark over Magarshack's practice. It is relatively easy to explain away isolated instances of lay readers writing to Penguin with comments and criticisms of Magarshack's first three contributions to Penguin's Russian Classics. Textual flaws which have been spotted by a peer, however, require considerably more explanation. However, expert peer review comes with questions of its own, for example: 'What characterizes good or bad reviewers, good or bad reviews, not only from technical or scientific points of view, but also considering its linguistic, form and content, features?' (Ausloos, Nedic, A. and P. Fronczak, 2015, p. 348). Without specific details of this reviewer's parameters for evaluation, it is impossible to validate the findings and, given the creative nature of translation, as Macy himself points out,

there is reasonable scope for both language specialists to be right, each in their own way.

One potential outcome for Magarshack could have been that Penguin might have opted for the same route as Macy, to dust off Garnett's version of *The Idiot* and produce all subsequent translations in the same way: at a reduced cost, offering a revised edition and effectively de-commissioning Magarshack's services.¹⁴⁵ However, a decision to edit and revise would probably not have been deemed in keeping with the Penguin Classics ethos, as set out by Rieu, of producing 'readable and attractive versions of the great writers' books in good modern English' (1946, p. 48). Macy himself observed that Penguin displayed 'an almost-reckless desire to have new translations made' (15 March 1955, Ref.: DM1107/L54) and, judging by the number of new Penguin Russian translations, this mission formed an important part of Penguin's sales pitch. One need only look at the end-pages of *The Idiot* (1955) to find advertisements for other newly translated Penguin Classics, including *Crime and Punishment* where, in this case, rather than divulge any meaningful details of the storyline or of Dostoevskii's exalted position in the Russian literary canon, the description instead mentions (in glowing terms) the new translation by Magarshack in three separate citations. Having gained their readership's confidence, Penguin cultivates a climate of cross-fertilisation by advertising all of Magarshack's other translations. In the advertisement for Goncharov's *Obломov*, the concluding line of an already brief résumé reminds the target audience of the winning partnership between translator and publisher:

This translation is by David Magarshack, the translator of Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* and *The Devils* in the Penguin Classics. (End-pages, *The Idiot*, 1955)

By repeatedly mentioning Magarshack and identifying him as one of the key names in Penguin Classics, Penguin is playing to a target audience which will be attracted to new releases, to updated versions of classic literature rather than Garnett revisions, because they know they can trust the product they will receive. I would argue, therefore, that Penguin consciously fostered the perception that translations needed updating, which paved the way for plenty of future sales and also justified the cost of commissioning a pipeline of new translation work.

¹⁴⁵Magarshack's pride would, no doubt, have prevented him from considering any role other than prime translator. Magarshack would almost certainly have shared Chukovskii's scorn 'of any translator who would practice the outmoded method of "correcting" an original masterpiece to accommodate the tastes of a current reading public' (Leighton, 1984, p. xiii).

At the very least, Macy's reader's report would have prompted Penguin to keep a watchful eye on Magarshack's work rather than accept at face value the quality of his translations. The worst outcome from a watchful eye could have been to replace Magarshack altogether. Rather inauspiciously for Magarshack, Glover's penultimate letter in this exchange thanks Macy for the reader report and states:

I was very interested to have your reader's report and it was good of you to send it. It is certainly one that our Editorial Board will be glad to have in relation to possible future work by Magarshack. (20 May 1955, Ref.: DM1107/L54)

Famed as Penguin's prime translator of Dostoevskii by now though, having translated *Crime and Punishment*, *The Devils*, and now *The Idiot* (and with *The Brothers Karamazov* set to follow), Penguin had inadvertently built Magarshack up to be a recognisable part of the Penguin story and brand. Though on an admittedly small scale, I maintain that Magarshack was partially and inevitably entwined with the success of Penguin's Russian Classics. The readers, now accepting and, judging by their letters, enthusiastic for Magarshack's work, would no doubt have been disappointed (even mistrustful) had he been replaced, a move which, to the potential detriment to Penguin, could have manifested itself in the form of decreased sales.

Magarshack's status as a Penguin-commissioned translator demonstrates the shared benefit of well-publicised commercial patronage of the arts. Amongst other aspirations, the patron 'invests symbolic capital in a poem or a play in the hope that its success will reflect well on him as an arbiter of taste' (Griffin, 2006, p. 25); and the patronised, though 'controlled' and funded by the patron, may strike lucky and become a crucial part of that wide success, a favourite of the masses. Both the patron and the patronised may succeed to enjoy the glory of their joint achievement. While the patron controls the finances, the commissioned agent also wields some power of their own. Which patron, for example, would risk jettisoning a popular and recognised artist, one proven to be beneficial, maybe even important, to a branch of their corporate success? Moreover, if the formula has worked thus far, why risk change just for the sake of it? With Magarshack's name so clearly associated by now with Penguin's translations of Dostoevskii, this acknowledgement is perhaps another reason why Penguin Classics (UK) chose to take a different view to the critical one sent over from America.

For American readers, correspondence in the Penguin archive confirms an unease with the 'Britishness' of Penguin's translations (Richard D. Mical from Massachusetts

writes of *Crime and Punishment* that, 'I feel a little uncomfortable reading David Magarshack's translation. I wonder if it were intended for an English (i.e. British) audience (19 November 1965, Ref.: DM1107/L23)). Although Magarshack's Penguin translations were stocked and successfully sold in the US, Macy was probably right in 1955 to consider his US readership's preferences and to pursue his initial idea of an American-English revision of Garnett's work. Coming from a tradition of 'neither great surges of russophobic curiosity nor the periods of indifference, but rather a steady increase of interest' from the 1870s onwards (May, 1994, p. 17), the US reader would no doubt have had a far clearer idea in the mid-twentieth century about the sort of translation they preferred than their average, newly initiated, lay-reader counterpart in the UK.

Magarshack in Theory: Aims of Literary Translation

In light of the commercial context of Magarshack's translation of *The Idiot*, I will now examine the translation methods, as explained in his private papers, which Magarshack strove to implement in his practice. These are methods which single him out from his Russian-English literary predecessors but align him with later translation theorists and their preoccupations, as I will illustrate where appropriate. When reading Magarshack's methods in his notes on translation, it soon becomes possible to recognise areas which resonate with the reality of his practice and other areas which do not. At times, there is a disconnect between the two. There are plausible explanations for these disparities. As has already been observed, Magarshack composed his views while looking back on his career and events in his personal life (emigration to the UK, his need to make a living, his desire for self-validation and recognition). In this instance, the disparity may simply be the result of having one image in mind of what he thought he had experienced and achieved, but an image, nonetheless, which may have become distorted with the passage of time. The other consideration is that Magarshack's practice was pressured. Translation was his way of earning a living, and he was working with other publishers too (see Appendix 2). This would have meant that in reality he was more hasty in his delivery than he might have been had money and time been no object. Certainly, in his correspondence with Glover, Rieu makes reference to haste on Magarshack's part when assessing his draft manuscript for *Crime and Punishment*, 'I think he has made the thing

very readable. But the TS [typescript] shows signs of hasty work, as I thought it would' (8 October 1949, Ref.: DM1107/L23).

Both in his general notes on translation and in his book synopsis, Magarshack summarises the core values, as he perceived them, of the translator's job:

Chief aim of translation: what matters in a work of art is living soul of the language which translator has to feel rather than apprehend intellectually; a translation ought to produce same effect as the original work. (Synopsis, Magarshack, n.d.)

The principle of equivalence emerges as Magarshack's primary benchmark by which to judge a "successful" translation, a benchmark which is congruent with Rieu's position and with translation theory of the time (see Chapter Four). This is the same benchmark I shall also use, therefore, by which to evaluate Magarshack's practice. In order to reach a combined overall effect of equivalence, Magarshack breaks down the translator's key practical concerns and considerations into six main areas of work for the literary translator:

- Idioms
- Spurious Atmosphere
- Background
- Period Style
- Meaning of words
- Parts of speech

Failure to achieve equivalence in these areas was of great concern to Magarshack. Whereas Chukovskii saved his most cutting views for Fell's non-equivalence in translating Chekhov (1965-67, pp. 13-17), Magarshack saves the greatest share of his condemnation for Garnett. In 'Translation and the Individual Talent' (2006), Timothy D. Sergay draws attention to the tendency translators have exhibited down the decades of erasing the literary efforts and progress made by their translator predecessors (2006, p. 38). Magarshack does not just erase Garnett's efforts at equivalence, he pointedly deconstructs them. One of his chief criticisms concerns the way in which Garnett's literal renderings fostered what he called a 'spurious atmosphere' of incorrect information about the Russian people, culture and way of life. Rather than rely on a plain and easy, or literal, rendering of a nation's phraseology, and risk distorting the way in which the nation is regarded by the rest of the world, Magarshack believed that the truly competent translator should capture the sense through accurate and careful paraphrase. Magarshack found support for this opinion in Edgar Allen Poe's review

(published in *Delos*, 1968) of a translation of Sue's *Mystères de Paris*. Magarshack quotes Poe directly in his 'General Principles':

Now, if we rigorously translate mere local idiosyncracies [sic] of phrase (to say nothing of idioms) we inevitably distort the author's designed impression. We are sure to produce a whimsical, at least, if not always a ludicrous, effect [...]. (n.d., pp. 16-17, Poe in 'Marginalia' [part VIII], 1846)

In Magarshack's opinion, the translator's creation of a spurious atmosphere perpetuates false impressions and national stereotypes, which become accepted by the target culture and ultimately become extremely difficult to reverse. He writes, for example, that:

The phrase – the harsh realism of the great Russian classics – is one of the stock phrases one meets over and over again in serious English periodicals. That it is utterly false, that, for instance, Dostoevsky's great novels are full of laughter as well as tragedy, has yet to be proved to the English reader. (n.d., p. 18)

It is clear from his notes how keenly Magarshack felt that power, influence and responsibility are vested in the translator to convey a faithful likeness of the original text, but not a literal copy. He argues that Garnett's literal renderings created a distorted image of the Russian as 'incompetent, gloom-sodden, bizarre, and even grotesque' which has 'become so generally accepted that it even colours the views of serious authors on Russian affairs' (ibid., pp. 17-18), although he does not give examples of such authors or affairs.

In his *Slavic and East European Journal* review of Magarshack's translation of *The Idiot*, George Gibian notes that 'again and again [...] in descriptions, narrative, and particularly dialogue, Magarshack is idiomatic and fluent, whereas Constance Garnett puts an undesirable, even if only thin, curtain of awkwardness and unnaturalness between the reader and the novel' (1958, p. 153). In part, Munir Sendich's review echoes Gibian's opinion; he writes that 'The Magarshack translation is by far superior to Garnett's. In fact, Magarshack surpasses all translations on certain levels – in conveyance of Rogozhin's substandard Russian, Lebedev's convoluted speech patterns, and numerous idiomatic expressions' (1999, p. 141).

Magarshack advises translators to immerse themselves fully in the living language if they are to deal with idioms in a thoughtful and creative way. The careful selection of a comparable target equivalent might be one way of dealing with the idiom, where one source idiom is exchanged for a comparable target idiom. Alternatively, if appropriate, a Russian literary reference can be matched with an equivalent English one, a strategy of translation by cultural substitution (Baker, 1992, p. 31). On this point, Magarshack cites

the example of Gogol's intertextual reference to Griboedov's *The Misfortune of Being Too Clever* ('Zephyrs and amours') and suggests exchanging Griboedov for Shakespeare, using the Hamlet quote 'Primrose path of dalliance' instead (General Principles, n.d., p. 19). In the absence of an idiomatic target equivalent, or even out of a desire to draw the reader's attention to a specific expression from the source text and hopefully retain some of the original flavour, Magarshack advises the translator to turn to Pearsall Smith, Sterne and Dr. Johnson, all of whom advocated 'new-minting' an expression in the target language if necessary (ibid., p. 15). However, it is worth remembering that Magarshack's Russian was used only in a translation capacity and his literary English was very much a desk-bound phenomenon (Magarshack, 2015). This means that his languages would not, perhaps, have been as fresh as he himself advocated. Let us now draw on a textual approach, therefore, and analyse translational aspects from selected passages in Magarshack's Penguin translation of *The Idiot* in order to assess if Gibian's view of Magarshack's skill compared to Garnett's was well-founded and to evaluate the extent to which Magarshack's practice concurred with his own translation theory.

Penguin's Re-Voicing of Dostoevskii's *The Idiot*

In the opening chapter of *The Idiot*, Dostoevskii incorporates a number of idiomatic expressions, used, in particular, by the characters Rogozhin and Lebedev, both of whose diction is colloquially inflected. In most cases, Magarshack attempts to match the sense of the source text with a comparable rendering, without necessarily employing a matching idiom. Where the idiom in the source text presents some difficulty, Magarshack either compensates for the absence of an immediate idiomatic match by embellishing the remainder of the sentence – a strategy which Sendich recognises as one of Magarshack's 'most obvious' (1999, p. 141) – or he cuts through heavily colloquialised diction (Rogozhin's, for example) in order to concentrate on conveying the idiomatic essence of the source text. In the case of the latter technique, rather than attempt to replicate source text subtleties (emphatic markers and verbal colloquialisms) in English, Magarshack constructs a clear message and mood through his own lexical choices. Take, for example, the following passage:

И какая ты наглая, я тебе скажу, тварь! Ну, вот так и знал, что какая-нибудь вот этакая тварь так тотчас же и повиснет! -- продолжал он князю.
(Chapter One, Part One, Lib.ru, 2014)

‘And what a cheeky beggar you are, let me tell you! I knew,’ he went on, addressing the prince, ‘that some cheeky wretch like that would immediately fasten on to me like a leech!’ (1955, p. 34)

Magarshack’s solution here is to introduce his own simile of ‘fasten on like a leech’, which is an appropriate, if slightly more descriptive, way to convey the *тварь* (creature, wretch, beast) of the source message, and arguably contains sufficient ‘salt’ to suit the context. This example illustrates Magarshack’s theoretical view that:

Each idiom had therefore better be considered within its context. The translator must not only grasp the full dramatic implications of the Russian idiomatic phrase, but be able to re-live the emotions for each particular situation. (General Principles, n.d., p. 15)

Magarshack’s use of ‘cheeky beggar’ and ‘cheeky wretch’ lends a lively mood to his rendering of Rogozhin’s outburst, yet the passage is still relatively muted by comparison with the source text. Though defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2016) as ‘insolent’, ‘audacious’, ‘cheeky’ has acquired additional connotations in colloquial usage and can be construed as an almost playful insult in some instances, while the Russian original, ‘наглый’ does not. This is not the only instance in *The Idiot* where Magarshack’s lexical selection raises questions. If we return to Gibian’s review, he expresses how unfortunate it is that ‘Magarshack has Rogozhin use the word ‘funny’ [чудно] instead of ‘strange’ or ‘odd’ in the tragic wake of Nastasja Filippovna’s body’ (1958, p. 153). The impression of a slightly distorted translation can also be found in Chapter One, Part One, when Rogozhin is describing the moment he first sees Nastasia Filippovna, a pivotal moment in the story:

Я тогда, князь, в третьегодняшней отцовской бекеше через Невский перебежал, а она из магазина выходит, в карету садится. Так меня тут и прожгло. (Lib.ru, 2014)

There I was, prince, running across Nevskii in my dad’s three-year-old frock coat, and there she was, coming out of a shop and then into a carriage. I was instantly on fire. (My literal translation)

The key idiomatic expression here is ‘Так меня тут и прожгло’ [I was instantly on fire]. The association between fire and attraction creates a powerful image; Dostoevskii makes it clear that the moment is electrifying for Rogozhin. Magarshack’s version loses some of this emotional equivalence by opting to lose the reference to fire entirely:

You see, Prince, I was just running across Nevsky Avenue in my dad’s long, three-year-old overcoat, when she came out of a shop and got into her carriage. I was struck all of a heap there and then, I was. (1955, p. 35)

In *A Dictionary of Anglo-American Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* (2005, pp. 370-371), the examples which are selected to illustrate the idiom ‘to be struck all of a heap’ range

in date from 1843 to 1923, suggesting that it is a long-established, but rather antiquated and now quaint, turn of phrase, even by the 1950s. The entry in the *Oxford Dictionaries* online version gives its definition as 'Be extremely disconcerted' (2016), which does not accurately capture the love-struck mood of the original. Whilst Garnett's more literal rendering is unadorned of the conversational tone which Magarshack attempts to create with the addition of 'I was', her rendering conveys more accurately the emotional intensity of the moment for Rogozhin:

I was running across the Nevsky, prince, in my father's three-year-old coat and she came out of a shop and got into her carriage. I was all aflame in an instant.
(1913, p. 8)

The more recent rendering by Ignat Avsey is more impassioned still, far less literal, but also manages to achieve a convincingly conversational tone:

I remember, Prince, I was crossing the Nevsky at the time in my father's shabby old coat and she was stepping out of a shop, straight into a coach. I nearly died.
(2014, p. 13)

In the case of Garnett's proximity to the original and Avsey's commitment to sense, it becomes more evident through their solutions that, even at this early point in the story, Rogozhin's feelings towards Nastasia Filippovna are irrational; that he will be prepared to kill her for his passion later. By contrast, Magarshack's idiomatic decision gives the almost innocent impression of a 1950s (British) schoolboy falling disconcertedly in love for the first time, which was perhaps Magarshack's intention. His lexical choice suggests a textbook use of language, rather than the 'living language' which he repeatedly prescribes in his notes. This is not an isolated instance; in Chapter Six, Part Four, Magarshack chooses the word 'howler' in his target text to render 'срезаться', the apparent vulgarity of which term in the source text shocks Aglaia into a state of agitation. Magarshack's safe lexical choice leads the target reader to two possible conclusions. The first is that Aglaia must have a heightened, almost hysterically sensitive disposition which cannot tolerate even the most innocent of colloquialisms, lending something of an artificially Victorian atmosphere to the exchange. The second is that there must be a lexical disparity between the source and target texts. Whilst there is nothing inaccurate about the word 'howler', equally, there is nothing vulgar or shocking about it, nothing which would lead to agitation; by toning down Dostoevskii's lexical range, Magarshack has unwittingly made his own contribution to creating a spurious atmosphere regarding Russians and their emotional responses, in the same way that he accuses Garnett of doing with her '*pochemu nyet*'. In sociological terms, it

could be said that Magarshack's lexical choices compromise the Russian literary *illusio*. Gouanvic notes with regard to Duhamel's translators of US science-fiction novels that:

The translator's task is to deliver the novel's rhetoric, and to do so with a similar plausibility to that of the original [...]. If the translator does not perform his or her task, the translated text will not contain the same *illusio* potential as the original. This would lead the work to be 'unsuccessful' [...]. (2010, p. 127)

It is possible that Magarshack was attempting to Anglicise his lexis to suit Penguin's stylistic norms – as a former crime-writer, he would have been aware of Penguin's penchant for Agatha Christie, for example, and equally aware of her bookselling success (Yates, 2006, p. 33) – but by modulating Dostoevskii's style, Magarshack compromises some of the Russianness of the source text. Sendich remarks that 'In his efforts to convey the most minute tonalities of the original, Magarshack has occasionally ruined the style of *Идиот*' (1999, p. 141). He has 'Englished' (Fitzpatrick, 2007) the text in his own way and this does not go unnoticed. Penguin's reply to the US reader Richard D. Mical, 'uncomfortable' about Magarshack's British-English rendering of *Crime and Punishment*, makes quite clear that Penguin felt no concern about Magarshack's Anglicisms or about the ethno-centric position of the Penguin publishing house, 'David Magarshack's translation was certainly intended for a British audience and I wonder what you had in mind when you expressed doubts about that' (Letter from Cochrane to Mical, 13 January 1966, Ref.: DM1107/L23). It is not just the reading public who noticed the Englishness of Magarshack's translations, though; critical reviewers commented on his 'Englished' style too. On 8 April 1965, *The TLS* reviewed his Faber and Faber translation of Chekhov's *Platonov*. Except for a fleeting expression of gratitude to Magarshack for providing a full version of the play for the first time, the anonymous reviewer proceeds to criticise Magarshack. First, the reviewer criticises Magarshack for being 'less than charitable towards Mr D. Makaroff's version of 1961', recalling Sergay's observation that each translator, looking back on their predecessors' efforts, should do so with respect or perhaps pay with the price of criticism themselves at some point (2006, p. 39). The reviewer's main accusation, however, is that Magarshack's translation is:

[...] perfectly readable but scarcely speakable; it has been translated into a bastard idiom that is not colloquial English and never was. Much of Mr. Magarshack's version seems to aim at an Edwardian or Victorian diction such as might have been spoken in Chekhov's lifetime. This is an obvious and legitimate approach, but requires far more careful treatment than one might expect: only a master of pastiche could nowadays manage it successfully. In *Platonov* the cumbrous Victorianisms tend towards bathos [...]. (1965, Magarshack, Box 11)

Magarshack would have disliked this accusation. In 'General Principles', Magarshack specifically points out the need to *avoid* period English when translating classic Russian literature, which suggests that, in practice, he himself was aspiring to create a very different effect:

Why, if Shakespeare is translated into modern Russian, should Gogol be translated into early nineteenth century English? The advocates of this procedure fail to perceive two things; first that the translator is as much a child of his age as the original author was a child of his. Consequently, if he is to transmute a Russian work of art into an English one, he can only do so in the language of his time. Secondly, a translator is writing for the people of his own day and [...] to obtain the utmost response from his public, he has to write in the language they speak and not in the language their fathers or forefathers spoke. (n.d., p. 20)

Criticism of translating Russian into 'period' English has tended on the whole to be directed at Garnett. Regardless of the author, Garnett's characters all reportedly spoke Edwardian Garnett, as discussed humorously in Remnick's *New Yorker* article 'The Translation Wars' (7 November 2005), but more caustically in Brodskii's observation that 'The reason English-speaking readers can barely tell the difference between Tolstoy and Dostoevsky is that they aren't reading the prose of either one. They're reading Constance Garnett' (Rodensky, 2013, p. 224). More than just confirming Magarshack's view of Garnett, Brodskii's remark also confirms Magarshack's own earlier concerns about the Anglophone world's skewed vision and reception of Russian literature. The criticism levelled at Magarshack in his *Platonov* review puts him on a par with Garnett. In Magarshack's Dostoevskii translations, though, there is more of a sense that he was consciously trying to create an equivalent literary style, one which would convey more of a Dostoevskian but, at the same time, a domesticated impression on the modern reader than Garnett herself had managed to create. Peter France, in 'Dostoevskii Rough and Smooth' (1996), endorses this view:

Garnett's prose was seen as somewhat too formal and Edwardian. So the versions of several novels produced by David Magarshack, and subsequently published by Penguin Books, tend to bring Dostoevskii's voices into line with modern English usage; the result is readable, but even more domesticated than Garnett's. (p. 76)

The *TLS* reviewer's notion that Magarshack was trying to capture a Victorian or Edwardian diction may have arisen from Magarshack's treatment of idiomatic expressions which, as we have seen in the above examples, convey a relatively dampened range of emotions compared to those expressed in the source text.

Englishing *The Idiot* as a Work of Imagination

As we can see from the views above, not everyone liked Magarshack's style or deemed it successful, but May at least acknowledges Magarshack's attempts to capture different conversational styles and voices in the text:

David Magarshack's translations of Russian classics are more attentive to the stylistic idiosyncracies [sic] of the various authors and to the voices within the texts. [...] Garnett's version stays closer to the meaning of the words but strays much further from their effect. [...] Magarshack's is more impetuous in his speech, less grammatical – (possibly too much like a London barfly) – and far more believable. (1994, p. 44)

Taking into account France's and May's references to Dostoevskii's voices, and the anonymous reviewer's accusation of a bathetic 'bastard idiom', I maintain that Magarshack was at least striving to achieve a new form of characterisation through the vehicle of language, not 'period' English as such, but regional, modern English, recognisable to the Penguin lay reader and perceived as making the text more easily accessible and alive to the target reader. In fact, he made his desire for domesticated translations known when he was interviewed by W.J. Igoe for the *Chicago Tribune* and remarked that he wanted his work to be 'Englished as a work of imagination' (1963, p. 3). Magarshack domesticated dialogue in a way which Garnett never attempted. In order to convey the polyphony present in Dostoevskii's original novel in such a way as to be accessible to the modern reader, Magarshack combined the old with the new and he did this by imparting idiomatic Englishness to Dostoevskii's characters, for example Rogozhin. Magarshack lends this rough character a marked, if contrived, style of colloquialised speech, even though as observed above, Magarshack wrote that the translator must avoid 'current slang or colloquialism of England or America' (General, p. 1). Rogozhin's diction is a hybrid, switching between the correct register of classic literature and the inflections associated with May's 'London barfly' (1994, p. 44).

In the source text, Rogozhin's speech betrays a lack of education, an inability to articulate thoughts coherently, and a jumble of highly colloquial diminutives which flow without any real structure. In Rogozhin's encounter with Myshkin in the very first chapter, Magarshack cultivates the impression of Rogozhin's lack of education through his choice of English vernacular. Magarshack introduces a frequency of double negatives and the occasional use of "ain't", a speech pattern often associated either with the regional, colloquial dialect of someone from the South East of England (Pearce, 2007, pp. 173-4), or with anyone who is unaware of the grammatical norms of correct English:

'Wasn't there no one to pay for you?' (1955, p. 29) ('Что ж, некому платить, что ли, было?'); 'And I never studied nothing' (p. 32) ('А я вот ничему никогда не обучался'); 'Sent me nothing, they didn't, neither that scoundrel of a brother of mine, nor my mother – no money and not a line to say what's happened' (p. 33) ('Ни брат, подлец, ни мать ни денег, ни уведомления -- ничего не прислали'); and 'It's sacrilege, ain't it?' (p. 34) ('Как по закону: святотатство').

The result is that Magarshack's Rogozhin ends up speaking a pseudo-Bill Sikes dialect ('You won't do nothing of the kind' (Dickens, 2007, p. 369), 'there ain't a stauncher-hearted gal going' (p. 376-7)). In this respect, Magarshack's approach resembles that of Edmonds in *The Cossacks* (1960). Edmonds also infuses her text with regional dialect in order 'to represent the peasants' speech, which is very different from normal Russian' (Rieu, 8 August 1959). According to Rieu's internal memo of 23 July 1959, her attempts are 'a sort of mixture of Devon and Cockney' (DM1107/L139) with which he was not entirely happy. He advised Edmonds of the need for some revision. In his final memo on the subject to 'DLD' [Duguid], Rieu writes that 'her revision is a considerable improvement, though I have pointed out one or two minor inconsistencies. I have also suggested the addition of a note on this dialect and the manner in which she has attempted to present it in translation' (11 August 1959). The Penguin archive does not contain Edmonds's first typescript showing her attempts to render dialogue before Rieu's suggestions and her published version does not contain either of Rieu's suggested notes in the front of her book. What is interesting, though, in light of Rieu's comments to Edmonds, is that Henry Gifford specifically singles out Edmonds's efforts at rendering dialogue as being particularly effective; but also, that no such comments appear about hybrid dialogue in Penguin's correspondence with Magarshack.

Magarshack's and Edmonds's strategy for rendering dialogue is akin to a method of translation which Chukovskii criticised as 'vulgarized translation' ('*vulgarizatorskikh perevodcheskikh metodov*' (1968, Chapter Five, Part Two)). Chukovskii, representing the Soviet tradition, was not alone in criticising this method. In *Western Translation Studies*, Berman expresses similar concerns about attempts to transfer a vernacular:

The effacement of vernaculars is thus a very serious injury to the textuality of prose works. [...] Unfortunately, a vernacular clings tightly to its soil and completely resists any direct translating into another vernacular. [...] An exoticization that turns the foreign from abroad into the foreign at home winds up merely ridiculing the original. (1985, p. 286)

I suggest here that, had the strategy been applied consistently, Magarshack's efforts might have resulted in a masterful characterisation of Rogozhin's intense personality, with his demotic idiolect so difficult to transfer convincingly into English. There are other, incongruous moments in Rogozhin's vernacular, however, which sound far too cultured and refined for Dostoevskii's villain and prevent Magarshack's creativity from succeeding. In Chapter Eleven, Part Four, Rogozhin suggests with the bare building-blocks of lexis and syntax, that he and Myshkin could adorn Nastasia's body with flower bouquets; it reads in the source text as:

Купить разве, пукетами и цветами всю обложить? Да, думаю, жалко будет, друг, в цветах-то! (Lib.ru, 2014)

There is a sense in the source text that Rogozhin's day-to-day inability to articulate thoughts clearly, cohesively, and elegantly has degenerated further with Nastasia's death. By the end, he resorts almost to pidgin Russian. Although the elliptical, jumbled syntax creates an impression of mental disjointedness, Magarshack renders Rogozhin's delivery in a most correct way:

'We could buy some, of course – put bouquets and flowers round her, eh? Only, you see, old man, I can't help thinking it'll make us so unhappy to see her covered in flowers!' (1955, p. 655)

The 'old man' term of address appears four times over two pages in Magarshack's translation (1955, pp. 654-55) but represents different source text words (Rogozhin changes between брат, brother (2), парень, fella (2) and друг, mate (1) when he addresses Myshkin over the same pages). Magarshack's rendering seems only to drive home the (mistaken) impression of Rogozhin as an upper-class gentleman dealing with a tragic scene which he has somehow happened upon. The impression is consolidated further when Rogozhin says, 'Стой, слышишь?' ('Don't move, can you hear?' my literal translation), which Magarshack renders with the Early Middle English imperative (OED, 2016), 'Hark, do you hear?' (1955, p. 655), an incongruity when used by a character so characteristically coarse-mouthed.

Incongruities aside, I would argue that it is commendable of Magarshack (and Edmonds in *The Cossacks* too) to attempt to transfer idiolect into another language in anything like a comparable and convincing way, not least of all because Magarshack, as an émigré, could only base such insider knowledge of language on observation, not on 'cradle' colloquialisms. Even his wife, Elsie – North Yorkshire-born and Cambridge-educated – would no doubt have struggled to write convincingly in (or even advise her

husband on) localised South-East diction. What is perhaps important at this time is the attempt to stretch translation norms, and the fact that Magarshack – as his notes on translation theory also indicate – was consciously striving to break Garnett's rigid, formulaic mould (correct English, one Edwardian voice serves all); France endorses this view in his acknowledgement that Magarshack was trying to 'bring Dostoevskii's voices into line with modern English usage' (1996, p. 76).

The issue of how far, or whether, dialogue should be domesticated is one which separates Magarshack and Edmonds from the Soviet translation tradition. On this issue, they both deviate from the translation theory upheld by Chukovskii, whom Magarshack otherwise quotes with full approval. In *Vysokoe iskusstvo*, Chukovskii writes of the absurdity and incompatibility of having English mouths speak entirely Russian words ('напрасно влагает в уста англичанам русские простонародные слова', Chapter Five, Part One). The same notion works the other way, therefore, of Russian characters with Anglicised names and speaking in local, British diction. As translated by Leighton, Chukovskii puts this feature into perspective, saying:

The result is as if Dickens's Mr. Squeers, and Lord Mulberry Hawk and Lord Verisopht were so many Ivan Trofimoviches living in Kolomna and passing themselves off as Englishmen when they are really straight out of Saltykov-Shchedrin or Ostrovsky. (1965-67, p. 99)

At the same time, though, it is possible that Magarshack and Edmonds might have earned some Soviet recognition for attempting to avoid *gladkopis*, or 'blandscript' (Leighton, 1991, p. 91) in their dialogue by injecting colloquial colour. Magarshack was certainly aware of the translator's difficulty of capturing idiolect; in his taxonomy, he wrote:

Problem of Creation of Literary Types: Characteristic Speech of Any Character in Original has to be carefully re-created: translator therefore must possess flexible and versatile command of words: he has no right to impoverish author's language. (n.d., p. 4)

Aside from dialect and domesticated dialogue, Magarshack's translation of *The Idiot* demonstrates a number of other domesticating techniques, which are equally exemplified in his other Dostoevskii translations. He employs (British) Anglicisms throughout the novel such as: 'I went from *pub to pub*' (p. 37, my italics); 'money' (p. 38) instead of kopeck; 'two miles' (p. 39) instead of three *versts*; and 'smelling salts' (p. 207) instead of alcohol. There are also insertions of recognisably British-flavoured references: 'my dear sir' (p. 324), 'rowdy fellow' (p. 57), 'buffoon' (p. 61), 'ma'am' (p. 325), and 'lad' (p. 654). Such stylised lexis only appears within dialogue, rarely, if ever,

as part of the narrative, and, spread over the course of the novel, there is a combined overall impression of English domestication. Gibian (1958, p. 153) notes this tendency in his review of *The Idiot*, drawing parallels between Garnett's and Magarshack's Britishisms ('Cricket terms (Garnett: bowled over, Magarshack: stumped),¹⁴⁶ and English words (pavement for sidewalk) abound').

References to everyday Russian realia are also frequently shorn of their foreignness, as if the setting of the book should largely conform to British-style living. Rogozhin, is described as wearing a rather complicated-sounding 'lamb's-wool-lined coat' (1955, p. 28) rather than the neat 'тулун' (*tulup*) from the original (an example where Magarshack's decision to paraphrase, rather than provide a footnote, results in a clumsy translation). Later in the chapter, Magarshack domesticates the peasant-like world Rogozhin and his father inhabit to one of 'tarred boots, and all we have for dinner is thin cabbage soup' (ibid., p. 35); the Russian-style 'сапоги' become work boots, and the Lenten *shchi*, 'на постных щах' is more reminiscent of Dickens's workhouses than Dostoevskii's Orthodox peasant life. In Chapter Four, Part One, 'особых оладий' become 'special fritters', instead of attempting to suggest that these are a distinctly Russian version of pancake (soured-cream drop scones).

Magarshack also domesticates French culture-specific terms into English. Often these are references which do not really require such intervention but are given English equivalence nevertheless: 'bouillon' becomes 'strong hot soup' (1955, p. 63); 'petit jeu' (пети-жэ) is translated into 'parlour games' (p. 178); 'Mummy' is used on p. 566 instead of the already accessible 'Maman'.¹⁴⁷ Like Gibian, Leighton recognises the regularity of Britishisms in Magarshack's work from as early as his translation of *Crime and Punishment*:

[...] a translation characterized by overly obvious British words and expressions sounds artificial to an American, while a strongly Americanized translation becomes an irritant to British readers. In either case, the reader begins to question the language of the original text [...]. [...] Magarshack's Britishisms are too obvious. 'Oh rot!' 'I daresay,' 'what a funny crowd you all are' – these choices

¹⁴⁶ For the sake of clarification, I maintain that Gibian is wrong to equate both these terms to cricket; whilst cricket uses the term, 'to bowl an over' this is not the same thing. The *Oxford Dictionary of English* makes no connection between 'to be bowled over' and cricket (2010); the term is more likely to relate to its earlier origins of skittles (*OED*, 2016). Similarly, 'to be stumped' is an obsolete ploughing term originating in the US, used to describe 'the obstruction caused by stumps in ploughing imperfectly cleared land' (ibid.).

¹⁴⁷ The debate over how far a translator should intervene with the source text's French continues; in a letter to *The TLS* (16 November 2007) in defence of his translation of *War and Peace*, Anthony Briggs states that '[...] it is no crime to dispense with the French. There was a lot of this in the early editions of the novel, but in 1873 Tolstoy translated it all into Russian'.

are too inimitably British to sound natural in a novel by Dostoyevsky. (1991, p. 137)

Magarshack, keen to convey himself as bilingual gatekeeper, makes Russian literature easy for his readers. As can be discerned from his notes on translation, the proliferation of 'overly obvious British words and expressions' should be interpreted as surface manifestations of Magarshack's background. By demonstrating an impressive, native command of his adopted language, dextrously used as a way of recoding Russian culture to suit his British reader (and satisfying Magarshack's British commissioning publisher), Magarshack is also communicating to his host country a willingness to integrate and a deservedness to be accepted and regarded as a literary success in the UK.

Where terms pose a problem of equivalence ('дача' (1955, p. 269), 'невидимка' (ibid., p. 590), 'брeдни' (ibid., p. 196)), Magarshack provides a polished and paraphrased but neutralised version. In these instances, the culture-specific subtleties of the original are often lost, replaced by a more pedestrian paraphrase. Magarshack's preference for paraphrase over explanatory notes for his readers aligns him with Rieu's personal position on footnotes and with Penguin's informed view that 'there are a large number of readers who feel offended by what they regard as an insult to their general culture' (Letter from James Cochrane to Miss Atkins, 13 January 1966, Ref.: DM1107/L35, regarding footnotes which offer a translation of French used in the Russian original). Edmonds, on the other hand, strikes a less dogmatic approach, making very occasional use of footnotes where she deems necessary; only one note is used in *Anna Karenin*, for example, but for *The Cossacks*, she uses several concise notes, in order to explain culture-specific Caucasian or Cossack lexis.

Magarshack's avoidance of footnotes points to his support for the Soviet belief in translatability. As Leighton explains:

Soviet translators excel at solving problems of translation. This is one reason for their high standards. They cannot and do not claim to have solved all problems satisfactorily, but it can be said that Soviet translators put many problems in their place. [...] By putting problems behind them in this way, Soviet translators have freed themselves to address problems that have not yet been approached or that have been avoided in other worlds. (1991, p. 120)

As shown already in Chapter Four, Nabokov's translation of Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin*, with its copious use of the footnote, is popularly regarded as a benchmark for literalism, *bukvalizm*, the polar opposite of the Soviet translation tradition (ibid., p. 180). On this basis, therefore, I argue that Magarshack's translations can be more closely aligned to

the techniques of Soviet translators. For Magarshack, the footnote was out of bounds, it was a 'translator's confession of failure' (General principles, n.d., pp. 19-20):

To obtrude a Russian word in the English text and then add a long footnote to 'explain' it, seems a curiously topsy-turvy sort of proceeding, since there is no reason why the explanation should not be embodied in the text. (Ibid.)

However, the question of tackling untranslatability through intratextual expansion appears, in some cases, to have resulted in a strategy of translation by omission instead for Magarshack, no doubt in an attempt to smoothe syntax and provide an easier read. See, for example, Lebedev's early detailed discussion about the European currencies Myshkin's bundle is likely to contain:

можно побиться, что в нем не заключается золотых заграничных свертков с наполеондорами и фридрихсдорами, ниже с голландскими арапчиками (Lib.ru, 2014)

Magarshack omits the finer details of each currency to produce a smoother syntax and an easier read:

[...] I don't mind betting that it isn't stuffed with rolls of gold coins, either French, or German, or even Dutch (1955, p. 30)

As Baker observes, this strategy is not harmful *per se* (1992, p. 40), but there is a risk of descriptive loss, even erosion, if applied too frequently. In other instances, Magarshack translates culture-specific references directly but offers the reader no additional background information. I maintain that it would be interesting to know how many of Penguin's typical lay readership, those without a background in Russian studies, were able to relate to or even research Dostoevskii's intertextual references to 'Karamzin's history' (1955, p. 31) and to the discussion which revolves around Krylov's fable, *The Lion and the Ass* (ibid., p. 169). In all likelihood, researching realia such as this would have posed some difficulty, with many lay readers only having access to limited library resources.

Traditional Russian naming practices undergo a consistent domesticating approach in Magarshack's translations. Above all other translation strategies, the domesticating of names is perhaps the most discussed of his techniques among reviewers. Reviews of the time appear uncertain about whether Magarshack should have strayed so far from translation tradition with his British adaptation of Russian names, which involved increasing the usage of Mr, Mrs, and Miss and significantly reducing the frequency with which source text patronymics were faithfully transferred. In de Mauny's *TLS* review for Magarshack's translation of *The Devils* (1953), he

distinguishes Magarshack's work from Garnett's on the strength of this practice, and makes his ambivalence known:

There is one point, however, on which Mr. Magarshack's tact as a translator may be questioned; for he has largely abandoned the use of patronymics ('*Mr. Verkhovensky* had declined *Mrs. Stavrogin's* proposal...'). His aim was no doubt the laudable one of sparing his readers confusion, for who has not sometimes lost his way in those tangled thickets of proper names? Yet, it might also be argued that, ultimately, we get to know these characters all the better for our initial struggle to grasp who is speaking to whom. (30 April 1954)

In Magarshack's own words, the translator's ultimate aim is to avoid uncertainty or confusion in the target reader, something which the switching between Russian names, patronymics and diminutives in a text has all too frequently caused the English target reader to experience. (In fact, the sense of foreignisation caused by the presence of Russian names in translations continues to affect Anglophone readers, suggesting it is perhaps one of the most untameable of culture-specific concepts in Russian-English literary translation. It is this very concern that a perplexed Oliver Bullough addresses, for example, in his online blog for *The Guardian* as recently as 2007, 'Why Must Russian Characters Have Quite So Many Names?'.) For Magarshack, there are two aspirations concerning the transfer of names which the translator must achieve, clarity and equivalent status:

The principles that should be applied in translations to Russian proper names must first of all aim at avoiding confusion in the mind if [sic] the English reader, and, secondly, at reproducing the different attitudes towards the person addressed. Since the difference between the use of the surname and the name and patronymic is rather slight, the English way of address – Mr. Ivanov – is to be preferred to the use of the name and patronymic, which, I suggest, should be used sparingly and only where their use could not possibly lead to any confusion in the mind of the English reader. (General Principles, n.d., p. 26)

In one respect, it is fortunate that English has the forms of address Mr, Mrs, Miss, which can, at least, come close to replacing the same level of formality of the Russian name and patronymic in the source text. This approach, taken with reduced references to patronymics, may well result in less confusion among readers. Edmonds includes paratextual notes at the front of her *Anna Karenin* and *War and Peace* translations in order to explain the Russian concept of patronymics and to justify her reasons for omitting them where possible, in favour, instead, of just the character's surname. She also explains her grammatical preference for a uniform (masculine) treatment of feminine Russian surnames, starting with Anna Karenin, but also including the examples Countess Tolstoy, Madame Blavatsky, etc.

Magarshack's use of the English 'Mr, Mrs and Miss' equivalents, on the other hand, glosses over the key social signifiers which are present in the source text, and refashions names almost to the point of ethnocentrism (Berman, 1985, p. 287). The difficulty posed to the translator by Russian names reaches a new, yet more complex level when diminutives, which convey a mood or a person's attitude, have to be transferred. Natalia Strelkova, in her handbook on translation practice, offers the following summary of the difficulties facing a translator when handling Russian diminutives:

[...] there is the wide (and some would say 'wild') variety of diminutives in use in various situations, e.g., for Мария: Маша, Машка, Машенька, Машкин, Машутка, Мариванна [...], then there is: Маруся, Маруська, Муся, Мусенька (that's nearly a dozen already.) [sic] [...] Short of disregarding these [...], you either resort to footnotes, or compile a general introduction listing all the variants contained in the original. Then again, like many translators, give up trying and just transliterate, or keep repeating the same 'generic' ID name so as not to further confound the reader. (2012, p. 82)

She adds by way of insightful conclusion that:

Despite all their good work, the earliest translators of the Russian classics [...] never adequately coped with diminutives. These cannot always be just 'translated'. They sometimes need compensation, or a different approach to the context. More often than not, a diminutive is not meant as a unit in and of itself. It can influence an entire text or part of it by setting the stage for the attitude of the author or his characters. Nuances that vary from favourable (friendly, familiar) to unfavorable (hostile, mocking), in addition to the neutral (objective) function, [...] all can be reflected in a diminutive suffix, hardly noticeable on the page, but by implication, important in putting across the attitude of the author. (Ibid., p. 83)

We must acknowledge, therefore, that great care is required here and the translator faces an almost impossible task in conveying the multifarious emotional subtleties encapsulated by a name. The translator must find an adequate solution which does not result either in absolute ethnocentrism, or absolute foreignism. Names in *The Idiot*, as with all Dostoevskii novels, take the source reader through the whole spectrum of moods and feelings felt towards a character. During the course of the source text, for example, the full name Gavril Ardalionovich Ivolgin is referred to as Ganya (familiar), Ganechka (light-hearted, affectionate, endearing), and Gan'ka (negative, contemptuous), all of which emotional shades of meaning should be conveyed as convincingly as possible wherever necessary. Magarshack upholds this same view and attaches importance to the translator as cultural custodian to get the transfer of such sophisticated information right:

[...] the Christian name, Ivan, can have a number of diminutives, such as Vanya, Vanyushka, or Van'ka. Now, all these different modes of address obviously express a different attitude of the person using them towards the person being addressed. To disregard this difference of attitude is both to distort the author's meaning and to confess to the inadequacy of the English language to express such shades of meaning. (General Principles, n.d., p. 25)

To exemplify his rationale further, he proceeds to explain how the name 'Ivan' transfers to a sliding scale of English equivalents:

Thus the English equivalent of Vanya would be Johnnie, and of Vanyushka – dear Johnnie, darling Johnnie, and so on. But Van'ka is what the dictionaries would call vulgar, expressing as it does, contempt and derision. (Ibid., p. 26)

Magarshack mostly follows this approach when managing Gavrila's different names in *The Idiot*, but not always. He introduces the character for the first time in the formal manner as 'Mr. Ivolgin, Gavrila Ardalionovich' (1955, p. 45), but most frequently refers to him as Ganya. Where the form 'Ganechka' is used in the source text to denote affection, Magarshack clarifies the emotional range at times with the addition of qualifying terms as described above, 'dear Ganya' (ibid., p. 195), 'Ganya, darling' (ibid., p. 193, and three times on p. 202). However, there are key occasions where Magarshack simply glosses over the distinction altogether and leaves his name in the simplified form of Ganya, offering no suggestion of added feeling (see p. 193, where Ganya is used twice instead of Ganechka). Where the contemptuous version 'Gan'ka' is used in the original's climactic closing scene of Part One, again, there is no direct indicator, or compensatory measure, to suggest contempt in the target text. I argue that the omission of such detail means that on these occasions, the emotional shift is unclear, or possibly even goes unnoticed by the target reader, thereby leading to a potential distortion of the novel's atmosphere.

Magarshack, it seems, is not alone in his decision to overlook the full scope of diminutive refractions: Garnett (1913, p. 168) makes no target language reference to the contemptuous version Gan'ka and her rendering is altogether void of the source text's heightened emotion. Although Avsey's rendering of Part One's finale has a noticeably sardonic tone, he nevertheless sticks with Ganya too (2014, p. 178), never venturing towards the source name. Translators Pevear and Volokhonskaia, generally noted for their restoration of Dostoevskii's idiosyncrasies (Hunnewell, 2015), choose only to transfer one of the references to Gan'ka in the same passage (2002, p. 170), even though they go to the trouble of providing a full list of character names, complete with a summary of the gradations in the way Russian names can be expressed.

Paratextually, Garnett, Magarshack and Avsey do not include a list of names to accompany the translation. For Magarshack, this was an idea originally suggested by Rieu for his very first Penguin publication, *Crime and Punishment*. In his letter to Glover of October 1949, on receipt of Magarshack's manuscript, Rieu writes 'I am suggesting to him [Magarshack] that it would be helpful to have a list of characters at the beginning'. There is no further progression of this idea in later correspondence, however, and the book is published without a list of names; nor are there any character lists in Magarshack's subsequent Penguin translations. The target reader is left dependent on the translator's rendering of names in the text itself. Magarshack's degree of success in this area of his practice is evaluated by Leon Burnett (2000):

The new translator had certain 'blind spots' when it came to the matter of style. The attempt at assimilation went a stroke too far. His decision, for example to call Raskolnikov 'Roddy', in an attempt to solve the tricky problem of how to render Russian diminutives in English, was too much for one exasperated critic. (p. 370)

Once again, it is Magarshack's attempt at assimilation which singles him out from his predecessors. His dedication to assimilation – in rendering dialogue, naming practices, culture-specific paraphrasing, use of Anglicisms – not only reveals an attempt to stretch translation norms (albeit under the auspices of the broader Penguin mission), but it also reflects the extent of Magarshack's own attempts to convince his audience of his near-native language skills and to be assimilated in British cultural circles (Magarshack, 2015). There is, therefore, a deeper context to Magarshack's practice, which has emerged only through close analysis of his notes on translation and his translation practice. Whilst there is, at times, a disconnect between Magarshack's theorising and practice (supporting Gouanvic's and Pym's views that Bourdieu's model has limitations when action is theorised), it is the opportunity presented by this case study – to scrutinise both agent (archival material) and agency (textual analysis) – which has revealed the complexities of Magarshack's dispositions, a man caught between two cultures and seeking mastery and acceptance in one, if not both, of them. Bourdieu's simplified view that 'Sociology treats as identical all biological individuals who, being the products of the same objective conditions, have the same habitus' (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 59) serves only to highlight the limitations of the habitus model when it is applied to a microhistorical case study.

Magarshack Reviewed

Not all contemporary reviewers voiced praise for Magarshack's translations (*Platonov*, for example) and negative reviews also exist of Magarshack's biography *Dostoyevsky* (1962). It is criticised in the *Slavic Review* for being 'pedestrian, careless, unprincipled, and naggingly uncharitable to the "genius" which it acknowledges but never shows in its subject' (Fanger, 1964). Such criticism would have been keenly felt by Magarshack, who impressed in his notes the utmost importance of researching, understanding and 'crawling, as it were, into the mind of his author and his characters' (Synopsis, n.d., p. 4). As already shown in Chapter Four, Magarshack believed (pre-Bourdieu) that without an in-depth knowledge of the source author – effectively, the author's habitus and social trajectory – then the translator could not hope to transfer the essence of the source text. If Fanger felt that Magarshack had failed to understand and relate to Dostoevskii, then, by Magarshack's own definition, it is possible that Magarshack might indeed have failed in transferring the essence of Dostoevskii to his translations. This is exactly how some reviewers have assessed his work. In more recent years, Magarshack's translation technique has been described as bland, as if Dostoevskii's vibrant 'edginess' had been all but ironed out:

At a time when the creative role of translation was coming to the fore, there was a flat-footedness about the Penguin Dostoevskii. The sense of excitement that some of Garnett's early readers had apparently felt upon encountering an uncouth guest in the library had been replaced by a bourgeois feeling of familiarity in the presence of an interesting, but domesticated, foreigner in the drawing room. (Belatedly, the bland cohesion of Magarshack's English has been tacitly acknowledged in the decision by Penguin to commission a new series of translations from Dostoevskii mainly by David McDuff, an out-and-out literalist, whose versions are to be commended for their uncompromising determination to convey every stylistic peculiarity and lexical repetition found in the Russian.) (Burnett, 2000, p. 370)

Volokhonskaia's opinion is still more direct and critical in her evaluation of Magarshack's efforts, especially his translation of *The Brothers Karamazov* (1958), to which she and her husband attribute their debut foray into translation. In an interview for *the Paris Review*, Volokhonskaia said:

I had my Russian edition of Dostoevsky, and I decided to read along. Dostoevsky had always really gripped me. Usually if you read in your native tongue, [...] you just read. You follow the plot, the characters, you hope maybe this time this one won't murder that one! But now I started actually looking at the language. I said, How is Magarshack going to translate this? And lo and behold, he didn't. It wasn't there. The jokes, or the unusualness, just disappeared. (Hunnewell, 2015)

What Volokhonskaia found in Magarshack's style instead was: 'Something very bland. Something tame, not right. The meaning is there, but the style, the tone, the humor are gone' (ibid.).

Over the years, therefore, Magarshack's translations have received their share of harsh reviews. His treatment by modern translators calls to mind Sergay's argument that translators disrespect their predecessors. Magarshack found this out for himself, criticised for *his* translations having himself criticised Garnett for all her translations and Makaroff's *Platonov*.

When revoicing foreign texts which others have already lovingly revoiced into the language we share with them, surely an attitude of simple respect for those others should have some place in our 'rejoicing'. After all, far sooner than we'd like, and particularly if we attempt retranslations of classics, we ourselves will be 'others' for someone else. (Sergay, 2006, p. 39)

In terms of the British readership, the paying customers, it seems that Magarshack's efforts at revoicing Dostoevskii were largely well received, attributable to the fact, as Gibian declares in his review of *The Idiot*, that 'we now have an Idiot in readable, modern, and at the same time accurate English form' (1958, p. 153). This reception can partly be ascribed to the fact that Garnett's translations, the only benchmark for Dostoevskii in English translation for the preceding forty years, had grown linguistically stale over time. In his review of Magarshack's *The Idiot*, Cyril Connolly suggests as much too:

Great books require re-translating at least every fifty years, for our written language must grow more rapid and easy on the eye as it adapts itself to the pace of contemporary living. That is why Mr. David Magarshack has made such a good job of 'The Idiot'. He has an ear for the modern cadence, for the moving expression, and he manages to tidy up the verbiage of the leisurely nineteenth-century classic. (*Sunday Times*, 15 January 1956, MS1397)

Conclusion

After decades of waiting for Garnett's replacement, it is significant that Magarshack was the man finally chosen and commissioned by Penguin to replace Garnett's Dostoevskii, with all the benefits of a big patron and publishing infrastructure to back him up. By sharing Rieu's vision of domesticated, accessible translations, and harnessing Penguin's mould-breaking success, Magarshack was in an ideal position to justify some experimental methods in bringing the text closer to the reader (his approach to Russian

names, dialogue, realia, paraphrase, for example), methods which Garnett herself had not tried.

From the close textual analysis of his translations and reference to Magarshack's archived notes, it has become clear that there are contradictions between some of Magarshack's theorising and his practice and that there are mixed views about the success of his practice. Whereas Edmonds receives specific praise for her rendering of dialogue, Magarshack's dialogue receives mixed praise and, in terms of handling culture-specific references, Magarshack's tendencies to omit or neutralise awkward references suggest he interpreted the gatekeeper's remit differently to Edmonds, who provided her readers with notes where necessary. It has become clear from this synthesised analysis of textual and archival material that Magarshack wanted to enable his lay readers to engage emotionally with Russian literature (which would keep them buying his translations), to relate to the characters in the novel without an excessive number of obstructive foreignisms and footnote interruptions, and to enjoy a previously inaccessible Dostoevskii. It has also been possible, however, to ascertain some of the reasons behind some of his translatorial contradictions and aspirations, which emerge from his personal set of dispositions, his *hexis*: his need to earn a living; his wish, as an émigré, to be recognised by his host nation as an artist; his wish to replace Garnett as the new biggest name in Russian literary translation; and his commitment to creating a more realistic image of Russia than the one created by Garnett.

Magarshack's methods might seem naive, his renderings incongruous and quaint at times from our twenty-first-century vantage point, where the 'modern cadence' has moved on yet again and there are now easily accessible and plentiful re-translations from which to choose. However, I maintain that Magarshack's translations are not without impact or legacy and should duly be recognised as representing a decisive moment in the field of Russian literature in translation. Penguin's next Dostoevskii translations by McDuff, for example, have been described as tending 'toward verbose, stilted phrasings and overuse of annotations, so that his versions do not seem worthy replacements for Magarshack's earlier Penguin Classics' (May, 2000, p. 1208). From the perspective of Translation Studies too, it is of great interest that Magarshack – drawing on his émigré background – turned to both Western and Soviet traditions in order to guide his translation practice through fundamental decisions. Of even greater value is the realisation that when he felt the need to satisfy a new level of domestication, which

he deemed most appropriate for Penguin's Russian Classics, he was prepared to move beyond the norms of both West and East and introduce his own, personal methods of domestication to bring the reader closer still to the text. What is also clear from his theoretical musings is that, ahead of his time, Magarshack anticipated many of the ideas and themes which have since occupied (and continue to occupy) translation scholars.

In the same way that Garnett's Edwardian style of translation prompted Magarshack to strive for a vernacular opposite, Magarshack similarly helped to galvanise a new aspiration for Russian literary translation, with a renewed focus on capturing Dostoevskii's stylistic peculiarities and idiosyncrasies (as seen in subsequent translations by McDuff and Pevear and Volokhonskaia but with mixed success). For the part Magarshack played (even posthumously) in revoicing Russian literature in translation, I believe it is fitting for him to receive the respect and recognition of which Sergay writes. I am not alone in this view. It is undoubtedly significant that the 2017 Nobel Prize in Literature winner Kazuo Ishiguro (Nobelprize.org, 2017) also singles out Magarshack and his translation style, specifically for the creative influence they have had over his writing:

'I often think I've been greatly influenced by the translator, David Magarshack, who was the favourite translator of Russian writers in the 1970s. And often, when people ask me who my big influences are, I feel I should say David Magarshack, because I think the rhythm of my own prose is very much like those Russian translations I read.'

Ishiguro values not just any Dostoevsky, but Magarshack's Dostoevsky, and one begins to suspect that he rather likes the idea that his own novels are imitating translations. (Walkowitz, 2007, p. 221)

Conclusion: Thesis Outcomes

This thesis has set out to analyse for the first time Penguin's Russian Classics. Key agents involved in the series have been introduced and examined both in isolation, located in their socio-cultural settings, and as part of a larger network in order to understand the diverse, multidirectional forces, personalities and influences which shaped this phase of Russo-British literary history. This thesis has applied three methodological approaches – sociological, historical/archival, and textual – in order to analyse and develop two specific areas of study which have been identified as wanting by previous scholars: the need to fill gaps that still exist in our knowledge of Russian literature in English translation and the need for an enhanced focus on publishers and translators as valued agents in the field in their own right.

While Bourdieu's analysis concerns elite, French publishing businesses and, by contrast, Penguin represents the mass Anglophone market, Bourdieu's concepts have, nevertheless, offered a helpful structure which has brought a sharper focus to the mechanics of the publishing business and have been useful for illuminating my account of Penguin's Russian Classics. Bourdieusian factors such as the convergence of internal (corporate) and external (market and socio-cultural) forces, the dispositions of agents, and the exchange of capital in the construction of this literary field, all provide a basic framework for this thesis, without which it would have been impossible to construct a more meaningful account of the complex dynamics operating within Penguin, collaboratively and independently of each other. Rather than allowing the critic to draw deterministic links between theory and practice, Bourdieu's notion of *hexis* proved useful in unpacking and foregrounding deeper complexities and contradictions in the field, including offering a different take on translators' attitudes and activities, since translators' dispositions are – as demonstrated by Magarshack – unavoidably complex.

It is clear that Bourdieu's sociological model of agent-analysis should be combined with historical/archival and close textual analysis if an holistic investigation is to be conducted. For example, the combined study of Magarshack's private papers, Penguin correspondence and his published translations has provided in-depth knowledge of this particular phase of Russian literature publishing in the UK, valuable insight into the Penguin Classic translator, and an opportunity to explore the preoccupations of twentieth-century literary translation theory and practice. This case study has made a contribution to translation sociology by showing how the combined detail found in

archived material and translated texts may be pieced together and interpreted to illustrate dynamics and relationships in translating and publishing practices which are relevant to Translation Studies research and which might, otherwise, be overlooked or misinterpreted. The Penguin case study has also allowed me to undertake an historical analysis of Western and Soviet literary translation trends during the Penguin era – a phase in Translation Studies which has itself been hitherto relatively understudied – in order to demonstrate how Magarshack's theory and practice (whilst unconventional at that time for incorporating elements from both traditions) reflect the Russo-British influences in his biography.

Whilst there are instances of theoretical flimsiness and narcissism in Magarshack's own reflections, this thesis argues that Magarshack's theorising nevertheless makes a valid stand for translators. He recognises their worth and urges that the public perception of the translator be reformed. One further outcome from my case study, therefore, has been Magarshack's rehabilitation as a translator and a theorist who should be celebrated for contributing to our modern appreciation of translators. Magarshack demonstrates a proactive mind-set of 'defiant, honour-seeking' (Charlston, 2013, p. 55) self-assertion which is relevant and necessary to the profession even now. This aspect of my case study reaffirms Sela-Sheffy's and Charlston's arguments, therefore, that, far from being mutely submissive, some translators seek, hone and believe in their intellectual and reputational prestige. In this respect, Magarshack's practice reflects the persona which is revealed in his letters and notes: he was a man of complexity, of competing and conflicting personal influences, but a practitioner of intense self-belief, a blend of attributes which may not always make it easy to follow prescriptive rules and formulae in practice. For example, Magarshack offers a general view in his notes on the need to domesticate texts for a British audience, but there are text-based specifics which receive inconsistent treatment: the glossing over of Russian diminutives, paraphrasing of idioms, Anglicising or omission of culture-specific references. As Charlston observes, bodily *hexis* extends 'into the body of the text' (ibid., p. 56) and the analysis of both – translatorial *hexis* and translated text – 'reveals something about the complex, decision-making processes involved in the translation' (ibid., p. 57). Once Penguin questioned Magarshack's practice in his last commission and tried to pin him down to translation minutiae, Magarshack adopted an attitude of resistance. This aspect of Magarshack's personal disposition, which illustrates Wolff's

(1968, p. 165) evaluation of the translator as ‘very sensitive’ and ‘defensive’, has come more into focus as a result of my analysis of his archived papers and published texts.

This thesis has provided the impetus to search archives for new material with a view to consolidating previously under-documented biographies, in particular Magarshack’s, and re-examining previously documented biographies (Garnett and Lane, for example) through a new lens. Even with its recognised limitations (occasional ambiguity, one-sided exchanges, and potential bias), an archive-based methodology for constructing microhistories has produced unexpected outcomes in this thesis, namely the uncovering of Magarshack’s previously unpublished papers on translation theory. There is scope to (re-)visit and scrutinise more fully other translators’ archives, both in the UK¹⁴⁸ and in Russia¹⁴⁹ and the US,¹⁵⁰ and to analyse what else can be learned from them and corresponding translations in terms of producing Russian literature in English translation. I hope that this archive- and text-based thesis will provide a scholarly model for future researchers wishing to conduct research into other Penguin series, translators, or, indeed, other publishing houses.

This thesis has shown that while there is a pre-Penguin history of publishers and translators of Russian literature, Penguin’s approach to publishing translations – its mission, dynamics, and practices – offers rich material about practitioners and processes for Translation Studies research. Penguin’s achievements came about by devolving power to networks of carefully selected enthusiasts, experts and advisors. Passionate about their subjects, dedicated to their own contributions for a range of personal and professional motivations, and galvanised by Lane’s (and Rieu’s) leadership, these individuals collaborated with Penguin’s internal hierarchy to pursue a joint mission. This assertion challenges Bourdieu’s over-generalised opinion that ‘the intellectuals, rich in cultural capital and (relatively) poor in economic capital, and the owners of industry and business, rich in economic capital and (relatively) poor in cultural capital, are in opposition’ (1993, p. 185). In a way which was previously lacking in translation publishing (as seen with Heinemann and Garnett, for example), the bonds

¹⁴⁸ Special collections at Leeds Russian Archive and the University of Reading hold archives for Russian/English translators (for example, Kornei Chukovskii, Natalia Kodrianskaia, Louise and Aylmer Maude, Tuckton House) and UK publishers (The Bodley Head, A & C Black Ltd., Chatto & Windus, Heinemann), respectively.

¹⁴⁹ The Russian State Archive of Literature and Arts (RGALI) holds translators’ personal collections, including the Soviet translation theorist Ivan Kashkin.

¹⁵⁰ Curtis Brown Archive (which holds archived material relating to Magarshack) at Columbia Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University; and Ardis Records, University of Michigan Special Collections.

of mutual reliance and the exchange of capital between agents appear to reach appropriate proportions under Rieu's editorship, helped along by there being dynamic market demand for their product. Bourdieu's claim, therefore, that "pure art" and "commercial art" exist in a constant state of opposition' (ibid.) does not apply to the Penguin Classics series. With only a few exceptions (most notably Glover, but only after a long tenure at Penguin), agents feel sufficiently rewarded to dedicate time and energy to a Penguin commission, encouraged no doubt by the prospect of repeat print runs and the likelihood of ongoing royalties.

Lane and his agents looked outwards as well as inwards, keeping a careful note of environmental changes, shifts in the market, socio-political moods and readership expectations which would play to their advantage. They noted the social climate (changes to wages, the arrival of disposable income, post-war appreciation of books and aspirations for self-improvement); they maximised market opportunities and harnessed advancements in print technology, running large print runs and stocking books more widely and accessibly than ever. Lane and his agents reinforced the reader's trust in the Penguin brand through advertising campaigns, both within the peritext of their books (end-cover book suggestions and lists of related titles) and beyond (in newspaper advertisements, articles and reviews). The Penguin team also consciously cultivated the reader's affinity for the Penguin paperback through an inspired combination of value for money, user-friendly size, attractive and recognisable cover and logo design, collectability, and, in the case of Penguin Classics, informative introductions, accompanying notes and an accessible translation style.

The Penguin Classics series, operating under the auspices of the Penguin brand, benefitted from the company's established reputation and already wide recognition. On the back of Penguin's early success, and cashing in on lay-reader eagerness to acquire a thorough grounding, at affordable prices, in the sort of world literature that the educated elite would deem rudimentary, foreign-language literary canons found safety and publicity in numbers in the Penguin Classics series. Penguin fuelled mass interest by broadening the series across literary canons from several countries and cultures, and collectively piecing together a pan-European literary landscape in readable English. Penguin correctly anticipated human inquisitiveness: whilst it would be perfectly possible and acceptable to focus, for example, on only the French novels, in reality, the new brand of dedicated and enthusiastic autodidact, forged in Penguin's image, would

be drawn to broaden their literary scope and consult other national literatures too. Acting upon this dependable level of reader curiosity, Penguin maintained its book sales and the translation commissions kept on coming, often faster than the Penguin team could process them.

By commissioning talented freelance translators, paying them fair rates with negotiable deadlines and offering the prospect of repeat business, royalties and even the potential, in some cases, to acquire a household reputation, Penguin secured a commitment to high-quality work and punctual delivery. This is a mutual arrangement which Garnett, as I have demonstrated in Chapter Two, ultimately found to be absent in her own arrangement with Heinemann, but which Magarshack, by contrast, worked to his advantage. There are gains on all sides, therefore. Magarshack earned his living, became a trusted name among Penguin translators, and was able to apply his considerable capital (reputational, literary, linguistic, cultural) to secure work with numerous publishers. Gardiner, Fen and Magarshack (as émigré Russians), and Edmonds as a wartime linguist, all had mastery of an otherwise largely inaccessible and mysterious language, a phenomenon which set them apart from translators of the more widely understood languages like French and German. The Russian translators from that period can be regarded as more than Bourdieu's 'adaptors of a foreign product', they are gatekeepers of a language and culture deemed at that time to be more remote and enigmatic than their West European counterparts.

The Russian literature which emerged is a product of two influences: the translators, who brought their various professional backgrounds, skill-sets and/or translation styles of their own which could be adapted, if necessary, to suit Penguin's needs; and the editors, who ensured the core Penguin values: the principle of equivalent effect and accessible literature in good modern English. This thesis has provided an in-depth study into these particular Penguin values – equivalence and accessibility – which emanate from Rieu's own carefully considered translation practice (in itself supportive of Lane's bigger mission of democratising literature). However, beyond the mention of sample translations which were supplied before Rieu would commission any translators to work with Penguin Classics, there is little evidence in the archive of subsequent checks being made on the faithfulness and accuracy of translation manuscripts compared to the original text. With such a level of trust in the translator comes a great amount of autonomy for the translator, which would no doubt have been

appealing, but also risked occasional flaws in practice, as seen, for example, with Magarshack's personal insistence on last minute, costly corrections.

Aside from his commercial priorities and commitment to Lane, Rieu placed the needs of his intelligent, but relatively uninitiated target audience first in the hope that a lasting love of classic literature would inspire British readers. As I have shown, he insisted on translations being composed without condescension or too many compensatory allowances, a decision which simultaneously flattered the original qualities of the source text and the author too. However, the question inevitably arises whether more could have been done to check the quality of the translation beyond the basic benchmarks of accessibility and equivalence. The classic Russian literature which Penguin launched so enthusiastically from 1950 with brand new translations has itself, for the most part, been re-translated now.¹⁵¹ Subsequent translators have built on the efforts of these early Penguin translators, identifying (no doubt with the benefit of hindsight) exactly what 'corrective' action should be taken in their own translations, whether to restore the text's original, stylistic features or to bring the target audience closer to the source culture. An overhaul of the old has, therefore, been a key priority in most cases and, in some, there has been a concerted departure from their predecessors' efforts (McDuff's more literal translation (France, 2000, p. 596) of *Crime and Punishment* (Penguin, 1991), for example, and Anthony Briggs's lively, idiomatic translation of *War and Peace* (Penguin, 2005)). As with the very first sixteen Russian titles, these texts have not been revised, but retranslated (in some cases more than once now) by newly commissioned translators whose translation practice has taken into account and balanced the perceived needs of both the source author and the target audience. In an apparent attempt to counter his predecessor Magarshack's occasionally smooth and free translation style, McDuff, for example, 'carries [this] literalism the furthest of any of the translators' (France, 2000, p. 596), while Oliver Ready's post-McDuff translation of *Crime and Punishment* (2014) has seen a more refined handling still of Dostoevskii's idiosyncratic nuances; his version is described by A.N. Wilson (2014) in *The Spectator* as 'colloquial, compellingly modern and [...] much closer to the Russian'.

¹⁵¹ The only Penguin exceptions are Magarshack's translation of Goncharov's *Oblomov*, and Edmonds's translation of Pushkin's *The Queen of Spades and Other Stories*, which are still in print.

The original Medallion Titles heralded a new era of Russian literature in English translation, and far from undermining or devaluing the earliest efforts bestowed upon these titles, recent retranslations of these works are timely, rejuvenative refinements of Penguin's Medallion legacy. The 'perfect' translation, one translation for all time, does not exist, but there are translations which suit their era and their readers' tastes and cultural capabilities. For this reason, Penguin and Penguin's Russian translators should be acknowledged and celebrated for playing a most significant part in renovating Russian literature, for cultivating a national interest in Russian culture in the readers of their day. I conclude, therefore, that Penguin's Russian Classics mission – the existence of a shared vision executed by skilful individuals working in collaboration and backed up by a corporate infrastructure – was an essential, necessary, though ultimately superseded stage for Russian literature in English translation.

Appendix 1: Titles in Penguin's Russian Classics, 1950-1970

Medallion Series, 1950-1962

Title	Author	Translator	Year Published	Penguin Archive Folder Reference
On The Eve	Ivan Turgenev	Gilbert Gardiner	1950	DM1107/L9
Three Plays	Anton Chekhov	Elisaveta Fen	1951	DM1107/L19
Crime and Punishment	Fëdor Dostoevskii	David Magarshack	1951	DM1107/L23
The Devils	Fëdor Dostoevskii	David Magarshack	1953	DM1107/L35
The Seagull and Other Plays	Anton Chekhov	Elisaveta Fen	1954	DM1107/L38
Oblomov	Ivan Goncharov	David Magarshack	1954	DM1107/L40
Anna Karenin	Leo Tolstoi	Rosemary Edmonds	1954	DM1107/L41
The Idiot	Fëdor Dostoevskii	David Magarshack	1955	DM1107/L54
War and Peace, vols. I & II	Leo Tolstoi	Rosemary Edmonds	1957	DM1107/L62 DM1107/L63
The Brothers Karamazov, vols. I & II	Fëdor Dostoevskii	David Magarshack	1958	DM1107/L78 DM1107/L79
Plays	Anton Chekhov	Elisaveta Fen	1959	DM1107/L96
The Cossacks	Leo Tolstoi	Rosemary Edmonds	1960	DM1107/L109
Dead Souls	Nikolai Gogol	David Magarshack	1961	DM1107/L113
The Queen of Spades and Other Stories	Alexander Pushkin	Rosemary Edmonds	1962	DM1107/119

Black Cover Titles, 1963-1970

Childhood, Boyhood, Youth	Leo Tolstoi	Rosemary Edmonds	1964	DM1107/L139
Lady with Lapdog and Other Stories	Anton Chekhov	David Magarshack	1964	DM1107/L143
Fathers and Sons	Ivan Turgenev	Rosemary Edmonds	1965	DM1107/L147

Eugene Onegin	Alexander Pushkin	Babette Deutsch and Avrahm Yarmolinskii	1964	DM1107/L151
A Hero of Our Time	Mikhail Lermontov	Paul Foote	1966	DM1107/L176
The Gambler [Bobok/A Nasty Story]	Fëdor Dostoevskii	Jessie Coulson	1966	DM1107/L179
Resurrection	Leo Tolstoi	Rosemary Edmonds	1966	DM1107/L184
Sketches from a Hunter's Album	Ivan Turgenev	Richard Freeborn	1967	DM1107/L186
The Home of the Gentry	Ivan Turgenev	Richard Freeborn	1970	DM1107/L224

Appendix 2: David Magarshack's Book-Length Works¹⁵²

- 1934. *Big Ben Strikes Eleven, A Murder Story for Grown-Up People*. [novel] London: Constable & Co. Ltd.
- 1935. *Death Cuts a Caper*. [novel] London: Constable & Co. Ltd.
- 1937. *Three Dead*. [novel] London: Constable & Co. Ltd.
- 1944. *Easy Money and Two Other Plays*, by A. Ostrovsky. [translation] London: Allen & Unwin.
- 1945. *Immortality, A Novel*, by A. Iugov. [translation] London, New York: Hutchinson.
- 1946. *The Enchanted Pilgrim and Other Stories*, by N. Leskov. [translation] London: Hutchinson International Authors.
- 1947. *The Black Arab, and Other Stories*, by M. Prishvin. [translation] London: Hutchinson International Authors.
- 1947. *Shakespeare on the Soviet Stage*, by M. Morozov and D. Magarshack, London: Soviet News.
- 1949. *Tales of Good and Evil*, by N. Gogol. [translation] London: John Lehmann.
- 1949. *The Amazon and Other Stories*, by N. Leskov. [translation] London: Allen and Unwin.
- 1950. *Stanislavsky, A Life*, by D. Magarshack. [biography] London: MacGibbon and Kee.
- 1950. *Chekhov in my Life, A Love Story*, by L. Avilova. [translation] London: J. Lehmann.
- 1950. *Stanislavsky on the Art of the Stage*, by K. Stanislavsky. [translation] London: Faber and Faber.
- 1950. *A Gentle Creature and Other Stories*, by F. Dostoyevsky. [translation] London: J. Lehmann.
- 1951. *Crime and Punishment*, by F. Dostoyevsky. [translation] Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- 1952. *Chekhov, A Life*, by D. Magarshack. [biography] London: Faber and Faber/New York: Grove Press.
- 1952. *Chekhov, The Dramatist*, by D. Magarshack. [biography] London: J. Lehmann.
- 1952. *The Seagull*, by A. Chekhov. [translation] London: D. Dobson.
- 1953. *The Devils*, by F. Dostoyevsky. [translation] Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- 1954. *Turgenev, A Life*, by D. Magarshack. [biography] London: Faber and Faber.
- 1954. *Oblomov*, by I. Goncharov. [translation] Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- 1955. *Best Short Stories*, by F. Dostoyevsky. [translation] New York: Modern Library (Random House imprint).
- 1955. *The Idiot*, by F. Dostoyevsky. [translation] Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- 1956. *Cechov: Con 16 Tavole Fuori Testo*, by D. Magarshack. Translated from English by L. Simoni Malavasi. Milano: Rizzoli
- 1957. *Gogol, A Life*, by D. Magarshack. [biography] London: Faber and Faber.
- 1957. *The Overcoat and Other Tales*, by N. Gogol. [translation] Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- 1958. *The Brothers Karamazov*, by F. Dostoyevsky. [translation] Harmondsworth: Penguin.

¹⁵² See under Magarshack in the Bibliography for references to his one-off essays and articles.

- 1958. *Literary Reminiscences and Autobiographical Fragments*, by I. Turgenev. [translation] London: Faber and Faber.
- 1959. *The Torrents of Spring*, by I. Turgenev. [translation] New York: Vintage Books.
- 1959. *I Remember: Sketch for an Autobiography*, by B. Pasternak. [translation] New York: Pantheon Press.
- 1960. *The Death of Ivan Ilyich and Other Stories*, by L. Tolstoy. [translation] New York: New American Library.
- 1960. *Selected Tales of Ivan Turgenev*, by I. Turgenev. [translation] Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- 1960. *The Storm and Other Russian Plays*, by N. Gogol, A. Ostrovsky, L. Tolstoy, A. Chekhov, M. Gorky. [translation] New York: Hill and Wang.
- 1960. *First Love and Other Tales*, by I. Turgenev. [translation] New York: Norton.
- 1961. *Dead Souls*, by N. Gogol. [translation] Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- 1961. *Selected Tales*, by N. Leskov. [translation] London: Secker and Warburg.
- 1961. *Anna Karenina*, by L. Tolstoy. [translation] New York: New American Library.
- 1962. *Uncle Vanya*, by A. Chekhov. [translation] London: George G. Harrop & Co.
- 1962. *Dostoyevsky*, by D. Magarshack. [biography] New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- 1962. *Mirgorod*, by N. Gogol. [translation] New York: Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy.
- 1962. *Sinners and Saints: Three Stories*, by N. Leskov. [translation] London: New English Library.
- 1963. *Occasional Writing*, by F. Dostoyevsky. [translation] New York: Random House.
- 1964. *Lady with Lapdog and Other Stories*, by A. Chekhov. [translation] Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- 1964. *Platonov – A Play in Four Acts and Five Scenes*, by A. Chekhov. [translation] New York: Hill and Wang.
- 1967. *Pushkin: A Biography*, by D. Magarshack. [biography] New York: Grove Press/London: Chapman and Hall.
- 1968. *Isadora Duncan: the Russian Years*, by I. Schneider. [translation] New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- 1968. *Poor People and A Little Hero*, by F. Dostoyevsky. [translation] London: Macdonald/New York: Anchor Books.
- 1968. *The Principles of Translation*, by D. Magarshack. [unpublished manuscript]
- 1969. *Four Plays*, by A. Chekhov. [translation] New York: Hill and Wang.
- 1971. *Letters to Georgian Friends*, by B. Pasternak. [translation] Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- 1972. *The Real Chekhov; An Introduction to Chekhov's Last Plays*, by D. Magarshack. [biography] London: G. Allen & Unwin/New York: Barnes & Noble.
- 1978. *Uncle Vanya = Diadia Vania*, by A. Chekhov. [translation] Letchworth: Bradda Books.
- 1985. *The Pompadours: A Satire on the Art of Government*, by M. Saltykov-Shchedrin. [translation] (posthumous publication) Ann Arbor: Ardis.

Appendix 3: Transcript of Magarshack's Translation Taxonomy

General

Perfect Knowledge of Language of Original¹⁵³

Complete Acquaintance with the Subject

Dead Languages: Instances of Very Delicate Shades of Distinction

Liberty to Add or Correct Where Sense of Author is Doubtful

Liberty to Correct Careless or Inaccurate Expression

Style and Manner of Writing Same as the Original

True Character of Author's Style

Imitation of Style Regulated by the Nature or Genius of the Languages of Original and Translation

Translator Must Figure to Himself in What Manner the Original Author would have expressed himself if he had Written in the language of the translation

Translation Must have all the Ease of the Original Composition

Perfect Transcript of Sentiments and Style and Manner

Translator must adopt the Very Soul of the Author which must speak through his own Organs

Ease must not degenerate into licentiousness

Preposterous to depart from Sense for the Sake of Imitating Manner

Translation of Idioms

Genius of Translator must be akin to that of Original Author

Translator must be Recognised as the Creator of a New Work

Must not attempt to translate slang or colloquialisms into current slang or colloquialism of England or America

[end of page 1]

Every Translation must be Done over again every 25 years?¹⁵⁴

Best Translations result of collaboration between Master of his Mother Tongue and Philological Expert in Original Language?

Any Translation is Merely the Creation of an Approximation but there is a Limit of Such an Approximation when we can speak of the untranslatability¹⁵⁵ of a Work

Reproduction of Rhythm of Original Text is height of Perfection of a Translator¹⁵⁶

Prose Works more Difficult to Render than Verse because of idiosyncratic style¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ Magarshack's irregular capitalisation has been reproduced according to his original document.

¹⁵⁴ The question mark has been added in pencil.

¹⁵⁵ Underlined in pencil multiple times (hereafter all under-linings are in pencil and, presumably, done by Magarshack). This statement is also prefixed by a pencilled question mark.

¹⁵⁶ Statement has been marked out by pencilled brackets.

¹⁵⁷ Statement has been marked out by pencilled brackets.

Faithfulness to Tone, Mood and Content of Original while thinking: How would original author have said this if he had been writing in English?¹⁵⁸

Great Difference between translating Contemporary Works and Classics

Only Realism founded on Solid and Firm Foundation of Life and not on Book Knowledge results in fruitful and Active Method of Artistic Translation¹⁵⁹

Not only Words but Thought must be translated

Translator must Translate what the Author has Written and for the Sake of which he has written it

Deviations from original sometimes harmful, sometimes acceptable but sometimes Excellent

[End of p. 2]

Mistranslation of Single Word leading to Religious Dogma

Translator must Serve Author more than himself

Must Keep Perfect Equilibrium between Literalness and Total Freedom: Can only be Achieved by Translator [who is a good Writer or Poet in his own right]¹⁶⁰

Recognition of Translator's Art by Prizes

Impossible criticise translation from a language the Critic is only vaguely familiar with¹⁶¹

Importance of thorough knowledge of background

Translator must be able to imagine clearly and distinctly the inner portraits of the characters of the original

Main thing in artistic translation is talent: knowledge of language is not enough

Interlinear translation merely make it possible for writers without talent to obtain the widest possible chance of being published¹⁶²

Importance of combination of sound and sense and exact sensuous semantic and social and historical nuances of every word

Parochialism of assigning review books to Professors of the language in question¹⁶³

Dangers of Public Subsidies of Translations

Translation as an Art (Lyubimov)

[End of p.3]

Translator's Organic Contact with Life¹⁶⁴

Study of Colloquial Speech must be Conducted Everywhere

Translator must Live in Country whose language is that of the Translation¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁸ Statement has been marked out by pencilled brackets.

¹⁵⁹ Statement has been marked out by pencilled brackets.

¹⁶⁰ This phrasing has been highlighted by a bold, pencilled bracket.

¹⁶¹ Statement has been marked out by pencilled brackets.

¹⁶² Statement has been marked out by pencilled brackets.

¹⁶³ Statement has been marked out by pencilled brackets.

¹⁶⁴ Statement has been marked out by pencilled brackets.

¹⁶⁵ Statement has been marked out by pencilled brackets.

Problem of Creation of Literary Type: Characteristic Speech of [Any Character in Original has to be carefully re-created: translator therefore must possess flexible and versatile command of words]:¹⁶⁶ he has no right to impoverish original author's language

Translation of Dialects¹⁶⁷

Use of Archaisms: Proverbs and Idioms, Puns

Long periods: Translator must not interrupt author's deep breath¹⁶⁸

Indirect questions, exclamations [sic], etc.

Imitation of Sounds

Defects of Standard Translations: Failure to Suggest Author not merely Great Mind but Great Writer¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ This part of the statement has been singled out by pencilled brackets.

¹⁶⁷ Statement has been asterisked in pencil.

¹⁶⁸ Statement has been marked out by pencilled brackets.

¹⁶⁹ Statement has been marked out by pencilled brackets.

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